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*Edited by*  
Dr. K.V. RAMESH, M.A., Ph.D.  
DIRECTOR (EPIGRAPHY)



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## EDITORIAL

The present volume is the arrear volume for 1977-78, covering eight parts in all, which were to have been issued progressively in January, April, July and October of 1977 and 1978. It is hoped that the next volume (Vol. XLIII), covering the period 1979-80, will be brought out in the near future.

I record here my grateful thanks to my colleague Dr. M.D. Sampath, Superintending Epigraphist and my erstwhile colleague Dr. S.S. Ramachandramurthy, formerly Deputy Superintending Epigraphist and now Professor of Indian Culture, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, who have been of immense help to me in compiling the present volume and finalising it for the press. Besides, Dr. M.D. Sampath and Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, have helped me in proof correction and have also prepared the entire illustration material. Sri P. Natarajan, Stenographer, got the typescript ready for the press. To these gentlemen in particular and to those who have enriched this volume, through their leading contributions, I owe a deep debt of gratitude.

I am beholden to Shri J. C. Gupta, Production Officer, Archaeological Survey of India, who has master-minded the scheme for clearing the arrears of epigraphical publications in reasonable time and rendered immense help in the speedy publication of this volume.

Mysore  
5 . 3 . 92

**K.V. RAMESH**  
Director (Epigraphy)



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## No. 1—A NEW GRANT OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMĀDITYA I, ŚAKA 591, YEAR 15

(1 Plate)

K. V. Ramesh, Mysore

This new charter, edited here for the first time, was secured by Dr. S.H. Ritti, Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, Karnatak University, Dharwar. Prof. Ritti was good enough to send the set to the office of the Director (Epigraphy), Mysore for examination and copying. I am thankful to Prof. Ritti for permitting me to edit the charter in the pages of this journal.

The set consists of three copper-plates out of which the first and the third bear writing only on the inner sides while the middle plate bears writing on both sides. Each plate measures  $21.5 \times 9$  cms. The rims of the plates are raised in order to protect the writing. There is, in the left centre of each plate, a ring hole, 1.4 cm in diameter with a circular ring passing through it. The ring, 1 cm thick, is 7 cms in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered into a circular seal, 3 cms in diameter, and it bears a crude figure of a boar in relief, on its countersunk surface. The whole set, with the ring uncut, weighs 1080 gms. There are, in all, 33 lines of writing, distributed as follows : first plate : 8 lines, second plate, first side: 9 lines ; second plate, second side : 8 lines; and third plate : 8 lines.

The **characters** belong to the old Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet and closely resemble those of the published records of the issuer of the charter, viz., Chalukya Vikramāditya I (654/55-681 A.D.) of Vātāpi. As regards **palaeography**, it is difficult in some cases to distinguish between *ch* and *v*. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the invocatory verse (lines 1-2), three imprecatory verses (lines 29-33) and one verse in praise of the reigning emperor (lines 18-19), the entire text is in prose. As regards **orthography** and style, though the inscription closely resembles most other charters of Vikramāditya I, attention may be drawn here to the not usual doubling of *k* in *parākkram-ā* (line 7) and *Vikkramādityaḥ* (line 19). The grant was issued at the time (i.e., on the day) of the equinox which was the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvayuja in the Śaka year 591, which fell in the 15th year of Vikramāditya I's reign. Since the grant was issued on the day of the autumnal equinox, the details of date may be taken to correspond to the 22nd or the 23rd of September, 669 A.D.

The record begins with the well-known stanza *Jayaty-āvishkritam*, etc. The dynastic eulogy pertaining to the careers of the reigning king's great-grandfather, Pulakēśi I, grandfather, Kirtivarman I and father Pulakēśi II, is in conformity with the stereotyped Chalukya *praśasti*. The eulogy of Vikramāditya I as given in our charter also does not reveal anything new, but provides an opportunity to reconsider and reinterpret the statement concerning the restoration by that ruler of the misappropriated land grants earlier enjoyed by the temples (*dēvasva*) and *brāhmaṇas* (*brahmasva*). Scholars have till now taken the

passage in question (lines 15-17) to mean that Vikramāditya I had 'restored the properties belonging to gods and *brāhmaṇas* in the kingdoms of the said three kings who had confiscated them, the said three kings being obviously the kings of the Tamil country.'<sup>1</sup> But the real purport of the passage in lines 15-17, starting with *sva-gurōḥ* and ending with *sthāpitavān* is to be differently understood in the light of the known facts of history. The expression *avanipati-tritaya* actually connotes here the Pallava adversary, the natural foe (*prakṛity-amitra*) of the Chalukyas, who symbolised in himself the Pallava hegemony over the three traditional kingdoms of the Tamil country viz., Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chera. Thus the entire passage *avanipati-tritayāntaritam sva-gurōḥ śriyam-ātmāsātkṛitya* should be taken to mean 'he recovered for himself his father's royal fortune which had been eclipsed by the ruler who combined in himself the power of the three traditional royal houses (of the Tamil country)'. As a result Vikramāditya became the master of the entire kingdom (*aśēsha-rājya*) which was under his father's sway. By *tasmin rājya-trayē* is obviously meant this very same kingdom for, not having occupied the Pallava country for any length of time, he could not have ordered and effectively implemented the restoration of misappropriated land grants in that alien territory. As to what was actually meant by the expression *rājya-traya*, a valid clue is provided by the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśi II in which his empire is referred to as *Maharāshṭraka-traya*.<sup>2</sup> It is very likely that Pulakēśi II's imperial possessions were conventionally, if not for administrative purposes, divided into three *rāshṭrakas* (or *rājyas*), viz., Karnāṭaka, his possessions in Āndhra and the Koṅkaṇa-Maharāshṭra-Gujarat portions which he brought under his sway. When Pulakēśi II fell, probably as a result of Pallava Narasimhavarman's successful retaliatory campaign, a period of confusion ensued for more than a decade during which the Chalukyas must necessarily have lost effective control over much of their territory in all of which opportunists may have misappropriated land grants made earlier to temples and *brāhmaṇas*. After driving the Pallava invaders back to where they came from, it was but natural that Vikramāditya tried hard to reestablish Chalukya hegemony over all his father's erstwhile possessions. He eminently succeeded in his efforts and, as a natural corollary to his success, he restored all the earlier land grants to the original divine and *brāhmaṇa* recipients in all the three segments (*rāshṭrakas* or *rājyas*) of the Chalukya empire.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the gleaning rights (*uñchha-vṛitti*) of the village of Bhramaradāḷa, along with the gleaning rights of (the village of) Avuganūru, situated in Kūhundi-vishaya, to the *brāhmaṇa* Kumārasvāmi, the son of Dēvasvāmi-dikshita and grandson of Mēghasvāmi, who belonged to the Kāśyapa-sagōtra and was learned in the four sciences (*śāstras*). The grant was made on the date specified (and discussed above) on the orders (*ājñayā*) of the illustrious Nāgavarddhana-Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭāraka.

The expression used in our record for denoting the two 'gleaning rights' is *māruñchha*. The word *uñchha* means 'gleaning', 'gathering grains' and *uñchha-vṛitti* stands for 'the

1 See, eg., above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 176-77. The untenable and unhistorical nature of this interpretation is fully brought home by the doubt entertained by these scholars as to which of the four known kings of the Tamil country, viz., Pallava, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, and Kēraḷa is omitted by the expression *avanipati-tritaya*.

2 Above, Vol. VI, p. 6, text line 12.

privilege of living by gathering, without the need to pay, ears of corn left by reapers'. In *māruñchha*, *mār* or *māru* is a Dravidian word which has many shades of meaning. But the one which suits our context most is the sense 'to sell', 'to barter' or 'to exchange'.<sup>1</sup> Normally the objects granted to deserving donees in bygone days were not transferable or negotiable unless otherwise specified. In the present instance, the donee Kumarasvami was obviously vested with the right to sell or barter away the grains collected by him free of cost. We may, therefore, conclude that the donee of our record received as grant 'saleable gleanings' from the villages of Bhramaradāla and Avuganuru.

The present charter is important for the dynastic history of the Vātapi Chalukyas. As has been pointed out above, the grant registered herein was made on the orders (*ajñā*) of sri-Nāgavarddhana-Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭāraka. Sanskrit diction being what it is, this expression may be interpreted either as 'the illustrious Nāgavardhana[-bhaṭṭāraka] and Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭāraka' or as 'the illustrious Nāgavardhana *alias* Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭāraka' or, assuming that Nāgavardhana is a place-name, as 'the illustrious Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭāraka of Nāgavardhana'. Of these the first possibility is, for the present, ruled out because we do not know of any prince of the royal blood who was at once of the Chalukya stock and bore the name of Nāgavardhana and was senior enough to receive mention ahead of Chandrāditya in an official Chalukya document. The third possibility need not engage our attention seriously until and unless a place bearing the name of Nāgavardhana enjoying a position of importance during the Vātapi Chalukya period comes to our notice. We are thus left with the second alternative according to which Nāgavardhana was another name by which Chandrāditya was known. This possibility deserves to be examined in detail.

We know from the Nērūr grant<sup>2</sup> of the time of Vikramāditya I, issued in the year 659 A.D., that he had an elder brother (*jyēsthā-bhrātrī*) who bore the name of Chandrāditya as well as the feudatory title of *mahārāja*. The present charter, issued in 669 A.D., provides us with the latest as yet known date for Chandrāditya and shows that he was alive atleast during the first fifteen years of his younger brother's reign. The conclusion is inevitable that, in the extremely demanding situation which arose in the Chalukya empire as a sequel to the fall of Pulakēśi II, his elder son Chandrāditya was found wanting, either because he was temperamentally peace-loving or because he was of indifferent health or otherwise physically handicapped, and that the mantle of leadership in the war against the occupation forces of the Pallavas, and the crown of the empire at the moment of the restoration of Chalukya hegemony, both went to his younger brother Vikramāditya I. As a matter of fact, Chandrāditya was disqualified and Vikramāditya nominated as his prospective successor by Pulakēśi II himself as is clearly borne out by a recently discovered, damaged stone inscription<sup>3</sup> from Aihole, of the time of Pulakēśi II, which refers to Vikramāditya I as crown-

1 Kittel's *Kannāḍa-English Dictionary*, s.v.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 164, text lines 13-14

3 This inscription, in characters similar to those of the well known Aihole *praśasti* of Pulakēśi II, was originally engraved on a slab which was subsequently cut in order to make a stone lintel out of it. As a result, the inscription is only partly preserved. The loose slab is now kept in a corner in the Chakraguḍi at Aihole.

prince and also lays stress on his martial prowess and initiative (*śri-Vikrama-yuvarājah yuddh-ōtsāhi raṇa-dōhadah*). In spite of his supersession Chandraditya appears to have entertained no grouse and Vikramaditya was statesman enough to accord his elder brother all royal courtesies due to an elder, though superseded, prince. This is further illustrated by the word *ajñāya* in relation to Chandraditya's initiative in making the grant registered in the charter under study in place of the expression *viññāpanayā* normally used in the case of subordinate rulers and officials.

Let us now examine the possibility of Chandraditya having had the alternative name of Nagavardhana. An almost unassailable confirmation of this possibility is to be found in the Navsari grant<sup>1</sup> of Śrayaśraya Śiladitya-yuvaraja wherein Vikramaditya I is introduced as *paramamāhēśvara[h\*] mātāpitri-śri-Nāgavardhana-pād-ānudhyāta-śri-Vikramaditya*. That, immediately after the mention of his parents, the next person who is mentioned as revered by Vikramaditya I is Nagavardhana, is clearly indicative of the fact that Nāgavardhana was junior to Vikramaditya's parents but was senior to him to merit his obeisance. When this statement is studied in the light of the information provided by our charter, it may be safely concluded that Nagavardhana was the same as Chandraditya and that he was held in high regard by his younger brother, Vikramaditya I.

Only two **geographical** names, Bhramaradala and Avuganūru occur in the text.

## TEXT<sup>2</sup>

### *First Plate*

- 1 Svasti [I\*] Jayaty=avishkṛitam Vishnōr=vvaraham kshōbhit-ārṇava[m](vam)[I\*]  
dakshin-onnata-damshtr-agra-viśranta-
- 2 bhuvanam vapuh [III\*] Śrīmatam sakala-bhuvana-samstūyamāna-Manavya-  
sagōtranam
- 3 Hariti=putranam sapta-lōka-matṛibhis=sapta-matṛibhir=abhivarddhitanam  
Karttikeya-
- 4 parirakshana-prapta-kalyana-paramparanām=bhagavan-Nārayana-prasada-
- 5 samasadita-varaha-lañchhan-ekshana-kshaṇa-vaśikṛit-aśēsha-mahibhṛitam
- 6 Chalukyanam kulam=alamkarishnōr=aśvamedh-avabhṛitha-snana-pavitrikṛita-  
gatrasya
- 7 śri-Pulakeśi-vallabha-maharajasya prapautrah parakkram-akranta-Vanavasy=a-
- 8 di-para-nripati-mandala-pranibaddha-kirtteś=śri-Kirttivarmma-prithivivalla-

### *Second Plate : First Side*

- 9 bha-maharajasya pautrah samara-samsakta-sakal-ōttarapatheśvara-śri-Harsha-  
varddhana-

1 *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 2, text line 7

2 From inked estampages

A NEW GRANT OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMĀDITYA I,  
SAKA 591, YEAR 15

i

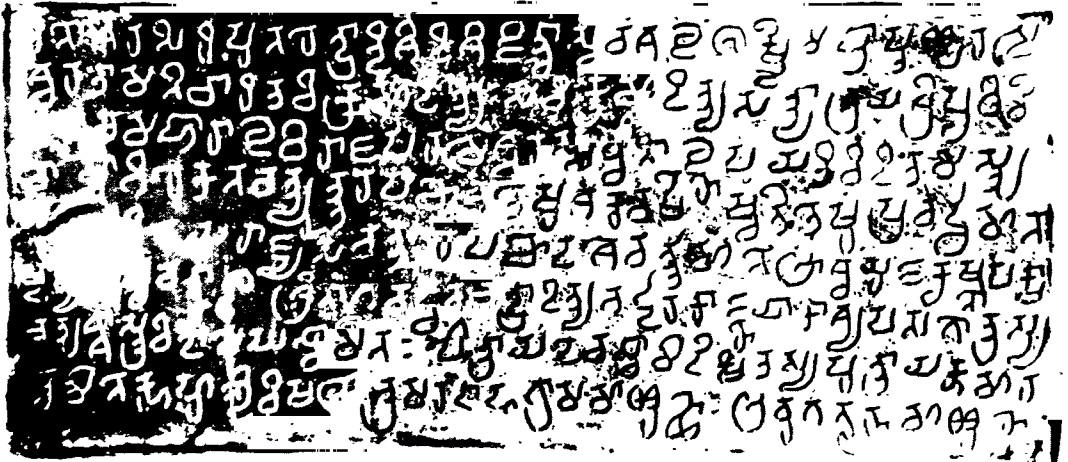
2	2
4	4
6	6
8	8

ii a

10	10
12	12
14	14
16	16



ii b

18		18
20		20
22		22
24		24

iii

26		26
28		28
30		30
32		32

- 10 parajay-opalabdha-Paramēśvar-aparanāmadhēyasya Satyāśraya-śrī-prithivi-  
 11 vallabha-maharājādhirāja-paramēśvarasya priya-tanayaś=Chitrakanṭh-akhya-  
 pravara-  
 12 tura[m]gamēṇ=aikēṇ=aiva pratit-āneka-samaramukhēshu ripu-rudhira-jal-a  
 svādana-  
 13 rasanāyamāna-jvalad-amala-nīśita-nīśtrimśa-dhārāyā dhṛita-dharaṇi-bhara-bhu-  
 14 jaga-bhōga-sadriśa-nija-bhuja-vijita-vijigishur=ātma-kavach-āvama-  
 15 gn-āneka-prahārah sva-gurōś=śriyam=avanipati-tritay-āntaritam=atmasātkri-  
 16 tya krit-aik-adhishṭhit-aśēsha-rājya-bharas=tasmin=rājya-trayē vinashṭha(shṭa)ni  
 17 dēvasva-brahmadēyani sva-mukhena sthapitavān=api cha ||

*Second Plate . Second Side*

- 18 Raṇa-śirasi ripu-narendrān=diśi diśi jītvā sva-varṇsajām lakshmim[!\*] praptaḥ=  
 parame-  
 19 śvaratam=anivarita-Vikkramadityaḥ[||2\*] Sa Vikramaditya-Satyāśraya-śrī  
 prithivi-  
 20 vallabha-maharājādhirāja-paramēśvaras=sarvvān=ājñāpayati[!\*]Viditam=astu  
 21 vō='smabhir=ēka-navaty=uttara-pāñcha=śateshu Śaka-varshēshv-atitēshu prav-  
 arddhamāna-  
 22 vijaya-rājya-samvatsare pāñcha-daśē varttamānē Āśvayuja krishna-paksh-a-  
 23 shṭamyam vishuvat=kale śrī-Nagavarddhana-Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭarak-ajñaya  
 Kāśyapa-sagotrasya  
 24 chatuś=śāstra-vido Mēghasvaminah pautraya Devasvami-dikshitasya putraya  
 Kumāra-  
 25 svāmine Kuhundi-vishaye Bhramaradala-grama-maṇuñchhah Avuganuru-  
 maṇuñchha-

*Third Plate*

- 26 sahito dattaḥ[\*] tad-agamibhir-asmad-varṇśyair-anyaiś=cha rajabhir=ayur-  
 aiśvaryy-adinam vi-  
 27 lasitam-achir-amśu-chañchalam-avagachchhadbhir-ā-chandr-arka-dhar-ārnnava-  
 sthiti-sama-  
 28 kalam yaśaś=chichishubhis=sva-datti-nirvviśēsham=paripalanīyam=uktañ=cha  
 bhaga-  
 29 vata Vedavyasena Vyasena || Bahubhir=vvasudha bhukta rājabhis=Sagar-  
 adibhih[!\*]  
 30 yasya yasya yadā bhumis=tasya tasya tada phalam [||3\*] Sva[m] datum sumaha-  
 31 ch=chhakya[m] duhkham=anyasya palanam(nam) [!\*] danam va palanam v-eti  
 dānāch=chhreyo='nupalanam [||\*4]  
 32 Sva-dattam=para-dattam va yo hareta vasundharam (ram) [!\*] shasṭīm varsha-  
 sahasrāni vishṭhayam  
 33 jayate krimiri(mih) [||5\*] Iti mahasandhivigrahika-śrī-Jayasēnena likhitam ||

## No. 2—MĀLDĀ DISTRICT MUSEUM COPPER-PLATE CHARTER OF MAHĒNDRAPĀLADĒVA, YEAR 7

(2 Plates)

K. V. Ramesh and S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

The copper-plate charter edited below was discovered in the village of **Jagajjibanpur** in Habibpur police station in Sadar sub-division in Malda District in West Bengal while digging the foundations of a house in plot No. 639 on 13th March 1989. The plate was subsequently brought to the District Museum at Māldā where it is now preserved. It was copied by us during our official tour. Our thanks are due to the authorities of the District Museum at Māldā for permitting us to copy the charter.

It is a single copper-plate, rectangular in shape, measuring 38 cms. in length and 52.5 cms. in breadth. Like other known Pāla copper-plate charters,<sup>1</sup> at the top centre of the plate is welded the seal which is pointed at the top and bears at the centre a beaded circle, with raised rim, supported and surrounded by arabesque work. On the top centre of the circle is a conch (*śankha*). Inside, the area of the circle is divided into two equal parts, the upper half bearing the Buddhist wheel of law (*dharma-chakra*) mounted on a pedestal and surmounted by an umbrella (*chhatra*) and flanked by a couchant gazelle on either side while the lower half contains the name of the Pāla king Śrī-Mahendrapaladevah in one single line, in embossed characters and supported by arabesque work. The seal measures 20 cms. in length and 22 cms. in breadth.

The present charter resembles in all respects other early Pāla copper-plate charters in respect of palaeography, language and orthography. The **characters** are akin to those found in the Khalimpur copper-plate charter of Dharmapālādēva<sup>2</sup> and they can be termed as proto-Bengali. The initial vowels *a*, *a*, *i*, *u*, *au* and *e* as well as the final consonants *t*, *n* and *m* are used in the record. Separate signs have been employed to denote final *t*, *n* and *m* with the *virama* written beneath or over the sign or attached to the top of it. In the case of final *n*, in line 2, the *virama* is attached to the top of the full form of *n*, whereas there are some instances where the full form of *n* with the *virama* below is found (1.7) while in other cases the full form of *n* with the *virama* on the left is also found (1.30). There are a few instances where the half form of *n* with the *virama* on the left is found represented by an *ardhachandra* mark with a slightly curved vertical line or *virama* below (ll. 5, 14, 16). The final form of *t* is

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1. See Khalimpur plate of Dharmapaladeva, Above, Vol. IV, pp. 243 ff ; Nalanda copper-plate of Devapaladeva, *Ibid* , vol. XVII, pp. 310 ff ; Mungir plate of Devapālādēva, *Ibid*., Vol. XVIII, pp. 30, ff; Bhagalpur plate of Narayanapala, *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XV , p. 30 ff ; Lucknow Museum copper-plate of Śurapala, *Ibid*, Vol. , XV, pp. 4 ff

2. Above, Vol IV, pp. 243 ff.

indicated by the form of *t* without the *virāma* below (ll.22, 26, 27, 28, etc.). The initial *ā* has a horizontal tick below the vertical of *a*. The initial *i* has the form of a curve above two dots. *U* extends its curve upwards. The form of *au* (1.28) is unique and interesting and bears similarity to the form of *j* with the added difference that on the left, a semiarch type curved line is attached below the serif. *Kh* has an outer triangle with its mouth open and joined to the vertical on the right by a bar. The form of *ē* is also interesting as the vertical on the right takes a turn to the left immediately on coming down and again turns back to the right and then further comes down and takes a turn to the left joining the vertical on the right. *Th* is of the bulged form with its loop turned inwards. *T* has its two arms rounded while *r* has a bent on the vertical with a middle bar on the left. *Ph* has its loop turned outwards while *ś* has its top rounded.

As in other Pāla-copper plate charters, *b* is invariably used for *v*. The scribe shows carelessness in writing, such as omission of letters as in *ayananda*° for *atyananda*° in line 2, *trayim*=*iv*=*oha* for °=*trayim*=*iv*-*ōdvāha* in lines 17-18 and wrong spellings such as *dharma-stitēḥ* for *dharma-sthitēḥ* in line 4, *jagat*=*pudavin*=*didrikshuś*=° for *jagat*-*padavin*=*didrikshuś*=° in line 11, *vilakañ*=*cha* for *tilakañ*=*cha* in lines 12-13, *khadg*-*avarjjitai* for *khadg*=*avarjjita* in lines 13-14 and *ārōhatādyam*=*bhrisham* for *ārōhatadyam*=*bhrīṣam* in line 16.

In respect of the observance of the rules of *sandhi*, *m* is generally retained as in *kakubham*=*mukhāni* (1.7), *rājñam* *sēvāparaṇam*=*praṇata*° (1.10) °*bhavanam*=*priya*-*vikramāyāḥ* (1.11), etc. Sometimes in *sandhi* *m* is replaced by *n* as in *jagatpadavin*=*didrikshuh* in line 1.11, *ēvan*-*niyamita* in line 35 and *dharmanuśansana*° in line 50. Further, in *sandhi*, the consonant following *r* is in some cases reduplicated like in *dur*-*antarair*=*mmaulibhiḥ* in line 22, *sahasrair*=*mmukhais*° in line 55 and *vahnir*=*vvair*=*indhanānām* in line 61.

The **language** employed is Sanskrit and the *praśasti* is composed partly in poetry and partly in prose. The poetic portion comprises as many as 32 verses. All the verses are new as in the case of the stanzas forming the introduction of the grants of Dharmapāla and Dēvapāla. The composer of this *praśasti* appears to be a poet of distinction and he uses a variety of figures of speech (*alākara*) such as *upamā*, *utprēkṣā*, *arthaślēṣa*, *śabdaślēṣa*, etc., in his composition as, for instance, while describing the battles fought by Devapāla (vv.8 and 9), delineating the boundaries of his kingdom (v. 14) and eulogising his valour (vv. 15 and 16). He shows himself at his best while describing the victorious march of the army of Mahendrapāla resulting in creating an illusion in the minds of the Vidyādharas flying in the sky (v. 13). In only one instance, one can find fault with him as for instance (v. 31) while describing the fame of Vajraṭa where he has not given the *upamāna* to the lotus like faces of the damsels of the impenetrable enemy kings as he had done in the case of virtuous people and the damsels of the directions.

The plate bears in all 73 lines of writing, the distribution of lines being 40 lines on the first side and 33 lines on the second. The charter begins with the symbol standing for the word *siddham* followed by the auspicious word *Svasti*. Then follows the invocation (verse No. 1) in praise of Siddhārtha (i.e., the Buddha) who is described as seated on the exalted spiritual throne, whose teachings are obeyed by all, who reigns supreme over the earth (by his spiritual eminence), who is born in the lustrous race (solar race) and who is the torch-bearer of righteousness. The genealogy of the imperial Pāla family follows, couched in sixteen verses and spanning over as many as twenty-five lines. It begins with Gopāla who is described in verse 2. His son Dharmapāla is extolled in verses 3 to 5. In verse 4, he is stated to have defeated powerful kings like Indrarāja and the king of the Sindhu country (*Sindhūnām=adhipam*). In verse 6, he is described as having begot through his queen Vikrama, a son called Devapāla. In verse 7, Devapāla is said to have built two temples dedicated respectively to Sugata (i.e., the Buddha) and Gauri. Verse 11 narrates that Devapāla married Mahatā, who was the daughter of the Chāhamāna king Durlabha. From verse 12, it is known that Devapāla got through his queen Māhātā, a son named Mahēndrapāla, the reigning Pāla king who issued the present grant. Verses 13 to 16 describe Mahēndrapāla. The description of Mahēndrapāla given in these verses is more or less conventional and no new historical information is contained therein.

In the prose passage that follows, the reigning king is formally introduced and the **object** and purpose of the grant are given. Mahēndrapāla is given the titles *Paramasaugata*, *Parameśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭaraka* and *Maharajadhiraja* and is described as the son of *Paramasaugata*, *Parameśvara*, *Maharajadhiraja* Devapaladēva. He is stated to have been camping in his victorious camp (*jayaskandhavana*) at Auddalakhataka at the time of the issue of the present grant. The charter proceeds to state that the king (Mahēndrapaladēva) constructed a monastery (*vihara*) in a town called Nandadirghika situated in Kundalakhataka-vishaya in Pundravardhana-bhukti and, for the proper worship, anointment (*pujana-lekha(pa)n-adyarthe*), etc. for raiments, food, beds, seats, proper medication and meditation (*chivara-pimnapata-śayan-asana-pratyaya-bhaishajya-parishkar-ady-artham*) of the Lord Buddha, of Prajñāparamita and other goddesses, of the group of Bodhisattvas poised for enlightenment, of the individualistic eight *mahapurushas* and the *bhikshu-samgha*, and for repairs to the *vihara* referred to above, gave away the entire town of Nandadirghika along with all lands and income. The whole land was divided and the monks and others were allotted their respective shares of land as decreed by him. The grant was made by the king for the increase in merit of self, parents and all living beings (*matapitrōr-atmanāḥ sakalasya cha satva-rāśeh puny-abhivriddhaye*).

The royal order was conveyed to all those assembled (*samupagatan-sarvvān*) as well as to officials (list enumerated) by the royal messenger (*dutaka*) *Mahāsēnapati*

Vajradēva. Then follows the valedictory sentence calling upon all future kings to perpetuate the grant. The date of the grant is given as year 7, evidently the regnal year of Mahendrapaladeva, on the second day in the lunar month of Vaiśakha. Verses 15-18 are imprecatory in nature. Verse 19 says that while this pious act (*sukṛitakarma*) was being performed by the 'star in battles' (*saṁgrāma-tarena*) (obviously this appellation refers to king Mahendrapālādēva), the royal messenger (*dutaka*) was Śurapala whose relationship with the sovereign was the same which had existed between the epic heroes Lakshmana and Śrī Rama.

The next twelve verses (vv. 20-31) contain the genealogy of the family of Vajradeva and the description of his character and exploits. Verse 20 refers to one Devaradeva, the progenitor of the family to which Vajradeva belonged. He possessed sterling qualities of virtue and goodness. Verse 21 is also in his praise. Verse 22 reveals that Devaradeva had a son by name Narayanadeva. Verses 23-25 describe his nature. It is known from verse 25 that king Dharmapaladeva, impressed by his prowess and qualities of truthfulness and fidelity, appointed him (Narayanadeva) as the chief (*adhipati*) of Darḍḍaranya. Verses 26-27 extol Kalyanavati, the wife of Narayanadeva. Verse 28 states that Narayanadeva begot in her a son by name Vajradeva. Verses 29-31 describe his manifold qualities.

Verse 32 is a benediction praying for the permanence of the eulogy (*kirtti*). The charter ends with the concluding sentence that it was engraved (*utkirṇa*) by *samanta* Mahāḍa.

The significance of the present charter lies in the facts that some hitherto unknown historical information is revealed about Dharmapalādēva and Devapalādēva, the predecessors of Mahendrapaladeva and that this charter attests for the first time, and beyond any shadow of doubt, to the reign of a Pala king named Mahendrapaladeva immediately after the end of Dēvapala's reign. The contemporary political history of North India during the time of Dharmmapaladeva speaks of an intense political struggle between the Pala king on the one side and the Imperial Pratihāras and Rashtrakutas of Malkhed on the other, over the political hegemony of Uttarapatha. The contemporary kings of Dharmapala on the Imperial Pratihāra throne were Vatsarāja and his son and successor Nagabhāta (II) while Dhruva and Govinda (III) were the contemporary kings on the Rashtrakuta throne. It is known that Dharmapala was very ambitious in raising the Pala kingdom to the high water mark of glory and power and in extending and establishing his suzerainty over North India. The Rashtrakuta records speak of Vatsaraja having defeated a Pala king, evidently Dharmapala, and carried away his royal insignia. Vatsaraja was aided in his expedition by his feudatory chiefs, one of whom, Chāhamana Durlabharaja of Śākambharī is said to have overrun the whole of Bengal upto the confluence of the Gaṅga and the sea. But, as this occurs in a poetical work composed four centuries after the event described, it is difficult to take

it as literally true.<sup>1</sup> As the kingdom of Gauda at that time extended upto the Gāṅga-Yamunā Doab, it cannot be said definitely whether Vatsaraja actually invaded Bengal or met and defeated the lord of Gauda somewhere in the Doab. A recently discovered dated inscription of Dharmapala at Nalanda<sup>2</sup> shows that parts of Bihar including Nalanda continued to be under the sway of the Pala king in 774 A.D. The event of his encounter with Vatsaraja may probably have occurred only after 774 A.D., as Vatsaraja ascended the throne in or before A.D 778. But Dharmapala did not lose heart after his defeat at the hands of Vatsaraja.

The Khalimpur plate of Dharmapaladeva dated 802 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> describes a *durbar* the Pala king held at Kanauj.<sup>4</sup> According to the present charter and the Bhagalpur plate of Narayanapala,<sup>5</sup> Dharmapala defeated Indrarāja and others (*Indrarāj-ādikan*) and gave back again the sovereignty of Mahodaya (Kanauj) to the begging Chakrayudha (*Chakrayudhay-arthine*). The conquest of the prized and coveted city of Kanauj must probably have been the first major victory Dharmapala scored in his efforts to bring the entire North India under his sway. The *durbar* which Dharmapala held at Kanauj was attended, according to the Khalimpur plate, by a number of vassal chiefs among whom are mentioned the rulers of Bhōja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhara and Kīra who uttered acclamations of approval 'bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling.'<sup>6</sup> As can be seen below, Dharmapala went beyond Kanauj and the domain of the Imperial Pratiharas on his military expedition.

The charter under review mentions the defeat of the king of the Sindhu country (*Sindhunām-adhipam*) in the hands of Dharmapaladēva. In a fragmentary inscription from Hund<sup>7</sup>, there is a reference to a military expedition to Sindhurajya undertaken by Anantadeva-nripati and Sindhurajya had been identified with the region comprising parts of Sind and Multan. The history of the north-western region of India during this period speaks of the early Muslim invaders of the "seventh and the following centuries, of Arab and Turkish extraction, finding the then Hindu rulers to be more than their match on the battle-field. The Hindu rulers like the Imperial Pratihara king Nagabhata (II) and his successors as well as Avanijanāśraja Pulakeśin of the Chalukya house of Navasarika and Lalitaditya, the ruler of Kashmir were among the Hindu rulers who claim to have successfully withstood and repulsed Muslim invasions."<sup>8</sup> If one is to go by the statement contained in the present charter, it is tempting to postulate

1 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ch. I, pp 22-23

2 *AR Ep.*, 1978-79, No. B-41, The combined assault of the Pratihāra king Vatsarāja (783-92 A.D.) and the Chāhamāna king Durlabharāja on the Pāla kingdom should have taken place sometime before 791 A.D., for there is an inscription of Dharmapaladeva, year 21 at Bodhgayā (Bhandarkar's List No. 1609) /

3 Above, Vol. IV, pp 243 ff

4 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ch. II, p 46

5 *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp 305, v 3

6 Above, Vol. IV, pp 248, No. 12, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ch. III, p 46

7 Above, Vol. XXXVIII, pp 94 ff

8 Above, p 96

that Dharmapala would have gone to the region around Sind and Multan in the course of his military campaign and conquered the king of that country. What emerges ultimately from the account given above is that the power of the Imperial Pratiharas was at its lowest ebb at the time of Dharmapala's conquest of North India though it must be noted that none of the contemporary kings of that dynasty is mentioned as having been defeated by the Pāla king in any of his records including the charter under consideration.

According to Pratihara records, the Imperial Pratihara king Nagabhata (II) retaliated against his Pāla adversary by defeating Chakrāyudha and conquering Kanyakubja. The recently edited Badhal copper-plate charter of Nagabhata (II) reveals the fact that Nagabhata (II) was not in occupation of Kanyakubja in 815 A.D.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore possible to postulate that the Imperial Pratihara king Nagabhata II's occupation of Kanyakubja must have taken place only after 815 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

As already mentioned above, Durlabharaja (I), according to conjectures based on a verse in a later work called *Prithvirajavijaya*, fought on the side of the Imperial Pratihara king Vatsaraja against a Pāla king, evidently Dharmapaladeva, overrunning the whole of Bengal and washing his sword at the confluence of the sea (Bay of Bengal) and the river Ganga.<sup>3</sup> In the family of the Chahamanas of Sapadalaksha or Jāṅgaladeśa or Śākambhari, one king, Durlabharaja (I), the son of Gopēndraka, is known to have flourished in the 8th century A.D.<sup>4</sup> It is already known from the Lucknow Museum plate of Śūrapāla (I)<sup>5</sup> that Dēvapāla had married Mahatā, the daughter of one Durlabharaja. But the charter is, however, silent regarding the lineage of Durlabharaja.<sup>6</sup> The present charter discloses the fact that Durlabharaja belonged to the Chahamanā family and was on friendly terms with the Pāla king Dharmapaladēva. This, however, runs counter to the statement recorded in *Prithvirajavijaya*. How to reconcile these two conflicting statements? It is possible to conjecture that there were many encounters between the Imperial Pratiharas of Kanauj and Dharmapāla and that, in the earlier battle fought between Vatsarāja and Dharmapaladēva, the Chahamanā king would have sided with the Pratiharas who, it may be noted, were their traditional

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1 The article is under publication. See also *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ch. II, p. 25.

2 Based on a statement in *Prabhāvakachanda* that king Nāgāvaloka of Kānyakubja, the grandfather of Bhoja died in V.S. 890, Majumdar, after identifying Nāgāvaloka with Nāgabhaṭa II, surmised that if Nāgabhaṭa really transferred his capital to Kanauj it was very likely towards the close of his reign after Dharmapāla had died and his son and successor Dēvapāla had enjoyed the position of supreme ruler of Northern India for a fairly long period as is claimed in his records. *History of Bengal*, ch. VI, p. 112, fn 3. See also *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ch. II, p. 27.

3 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ch. II, p. 23, *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 844 ff.

4 *Early Chauhan Dynasties* by Dasaratha Sharma, ch. III, p. 24.

5 Above, Vol. XL, pp. 4 ff.

6 The Lucknow Museum charter of Śūrapāla (I) merely states that Dēvapāla's queen was Mahatā who was the daughter of a king named Durlabharāja (*Śrīmad-Durlabharāja-tanayā Śrī-Māhaṭ-ākhy=ābhavad=dēvi tasya kara-graha-praṇayini ślāghyā dvitīy-ēva bhūh* II (*Ibid.* p. 12, v. 14).



overlords. In the second battle that took place when the Pāla king marched across Uttarapatha after the successful conquest of Kānyakubja, the Chāhamāna king (Durlabharāja I) would have either submitted to or befriended the former by giving away his daughter Māhaṭā to the former's son Dēvapālādēva. One has, therefore, to suppose that there were more than one encounter between the Pāla king Dharmapālādēva and Durlabharāja (I). However, that this newly established friendship between the Pālas and the Chāhamānas of Śākambhari did not last long is proved by the fact that Gūvaka I, the son of Durlabharāja (I), was an ally of the Imperial Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa (II)<sup>1</sup>. The present charter is, therefore, significant in disclosing for the first time the matrimonial relationship that existed between the Pālas of Bengal and the Chāhamānas of Śākambhari. The charter under review reveals for the first time that Dēvapālādēva had a son by name Mahēndrapālādēva who succeeded him on the Pāla throne and issued this grant in his seventh regnal year. Historians were of the view that Dēvapāla (c. 810-50 A.D.) was succeeded by Vighrahapāla I.<sup>2</sup> They were also not in agreement over the relationship between the two, some holding that Vighrahapāla was a grandson of Vakpala, the younger brother of Dharmapālādēva through his son Jayapāla,<sup>3</sup> while others considered him as the nephew of Dēvapāla.<sup>4</sup> Yet some others opined that Vighrahapāla and Śūrapāla are identical.<sup>5</sup> The recently edited Lucknow Museum plate of Śūrapāla I<sup>6</sup> shows that Dēvapāla was succeeded by Śūrapāla (I).<sup>7</sup> This charter disproves the genealogy of the Pālas of Bengal as hitherto enunciated by historians from Dēvapāla downwards.

It is interesting to observe here that as many as nine inscriptions<sup>8</sup> were discovered long ago in Bihar and Bengal which mention one Mahēndrapāla. Since they were all short inscriptions engraved mostly on the pedestals of images which hardly contain any information regarding the family or genealogy of the king figuring therein and in the absence of the valuable clue of the existence of a Pāla king of that name immediately after Devapāla, scholars assigned them to the Imperial Pratihāra king of that name. Based on this erroneous identification, D.C. Sircar wrote that "The great

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1 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ch. II, p. 27. *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, ch. III, p. 26.

2 *The History of Bengal*, ed. by R C Majumdar, ch. VI, p. 126.

3 *Ibid.*, ch. VI, p. 126, above, Vol. XL, p. 10

4 *History of Bengal*, Vol. VI, p. 12

5 *The Pālas of Bengal* by R D Banerji, ch. III, p. 17

6 Above, Vol. XL, pp. 4 ff

7 D C Sircar surmises, based on the evidence of the Lucknow Museum charter, that Śūrapāla was the son of Devapāla and was therefore different from Vighrahapāla I who was the son of Devapāla's cousin Jayapāla. We have therefore to place now the reigns of two rulers viz., Śūrapāla I and Vighrahapāla I between Dēvapāla and Nārāyanapāla (*Ibid.*, Vol. XL, p. 10)

8 Bhandarkar originally listed seven inscriptions which are as follows : Nos. 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1646 and 1647. Subsequently, one more inscription of Mahēndrapāla was discovered which was subsequently edited by D C. Sircar viz., Mahisantosh image inscription of Mahēndrapāla, year 16 (Above, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 204 ff).

mite of the Gurjara-Pratihāras was exhibited by Bhoja's son Mahendrapāla (c. 885-905 A.D.) who wrested considerable parts of Bihar and Bengal from Nārāyanapāla (c. 855-910 A.D.), the grandson of Devapāla's brother, between the 17th and 54th year of the Pala king's reign. As we have seen above, Mahēndrapāla is known to have been in occupation of wide regions of Bihar and Bengal atleast from his 2nd to his 15th regnal year<sup>1</sup>. The success of Mahēndrapāla must have made Narayanapāla's position precarious as the lord of Bengal and Bihar. During the period in question, the Pala king may have been ruling over a small part of Bengal or Bihar either as an independent monarch fighting with the Gurjara Pratihāras or as a subordinate ally of Mahēndrapāla.<sup>2</sup> Another historian opined that "the glory and brilliance of the Pala empire did not long survive the death of Devapāla. The rule of his successors... was marked by a steady process of decline and disintegration which reduced the Palas almost to an insignificant political power in North India".<sup>3</sup>

The present grant dispells all such erroneous views<sup>4</sup> regarding the extent of the empire of the Imperial Pratihāras after the death of Devapāla viz., the alleged shrinkage of the Pala empire following the supposed expansion of the empire of the Imperial Pratihāras launched by the Imperial Pratihara king Mahendrapāla and the state of affairs in the Pala kingdom on the demise of the Pala king (i.e., Devapāla). It may be noted, after a careful scrutiny of all the nine inscriptions discovered earlier and belonging to Mahēndrapāla, that Mahendrapāla maintained intact practically the entire kingdom that he inherited from his father Dēvapāladēva. Judging from the provenance of his inscriptions, it can be surmised that his kingdom comprised considerable parts of Bihar and Bengal (including North Bengal). If the reign period of Dēvapāla is taken as 810-50 A.D., his son Mahēndrapāla should have ascended the Pala throne in 850 A.D. and ruled for 15 years (865 A.D.) according to his inscriptions. An important point that was overlooked by historians while identifying Mahendrapāla figuring in the inscriptions found in Bihar and Bengal with his Imperial Pratihara namesake was that all of them employ Gaudiya characters<sup>5</sup> which are akin to those

1 See Bhandarkar's list pp. 228-29. Sircar, following R.D. Banerji and R.C. Majumdar, opines that No. 6 (Bhandarkar's No. 1647) in which the date read as the year 19 is supposed to be wrong, is now regarded as the same as No. 3 (Bhandarkar's No. 1644) in which the date is read as year 6 or 9. Above, Vol. XXXVII, p. 205, f.n. 10. See also *The Palas of Bengal*, ch. III, p. 24; *History of Bengal*, Appendix I, p. 175. *M.A.S.I.*, No. 66; Nalanda and its epigraphical material, Hirananda Sastri, pp. 105-06.

2 Above vol. XXXVIII, p. 207.

3 *History of Bengal*, ch. VI, pp. 125.

4 We would like to point out a similar instance in which three copper-plate charters were wrongly assigned to the Chandēlla king Trailōkyavarman and with the discovery of the Māṇḍla copper-plate charter (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XL, p. 213) it was found that they really belonged to Trailōkyavarman of the Kalachuri of Tripun family. *Śrīrudhī* (*Śrī K. R. Srinivasan Festschrift*), p. 303.

5 R.D. Banerji while writing on the Rām-Gaya inscription (Bhandarkar's No. 1645) remarks about the characters employed in that inscription as follows. "Acute angled characters of the ninth century A.D. had been used in it". About the characters used in the Paharpur inscription of Mahēndrapāla (*Ibid.*, No. 1643) the editor remarks that the numerical figure 5 in the epigraph has much resemblance with the modern Bengali and the numerical figure 7 found in the same inscription is exactly similar to modern Bengali 7. *M. A.S.I.*, No. 55, p. 75; Sircar while editing the Mahisantōsh inscription of Mahēndrapāla (Above, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 204 ff.) says "an interesting palaeographical feature of the epigraph is the use of cursive type of *anusvāra* in *saptamyām* in line 1." (*Ibid.*, p. 205).

found in the Pala records of this period. There are several instances to show that when kings invaded distant kingdoms and set up their own inscriptions in their newly conquered territories they only employed the script that was prevalent in their original country as exemplified by the Bādāmi inscription of Narasimhavarman<sup>1</sup> and the Jura *praśasti* of Kṛṣṇa III.<sup>2</sup>

In the light of the charter under review which reveals the existence and reign of a new Pāla king, Mahendrapāla, the chronology of the Pāla dynasty after Dēvapāla has to be worked out afresh. The Lucknow Museum copper-plate inscription of Śūrapāla, regnal year 3, which is the only copper-plate charter known so far of that king<sup>3</sup> shows that Śūrapāla was born to Devapāla through his queen Māhātā, the daughter of Durlabharaja and that the latter succeeded the former. It, however, makes no mention of Mahendrapāla who finds mention for the first time in the present charter. In the charter under review there is a reference to one Śūrapāla who acted as the royal messenger (*dutaka*) of the grant and whose relationship with the king is described as the same that existed between the epic heroes Lakshmana and Śrīrāma. This indirectly shows that Mahendrapāla and Śūrapāla were brothers, the former being the elder who was reigning at that time, while the latter was younger and functioned as the crown-prince. This Śūrapāla is no doubt identical with Śūrapāla (I) of the Lucknow Museum charter. Piecing together these facts we may conclude that Dēvapāla had two sons by his queen Mahātā viz., Mahendrapāla and Śūrapāla (I) and that both ruled over the Pāla kingdom one after the other.

It is somewhat puzzling that Mahendrapāla is nowhere mentioned in the Lucknow Museum plate. Further, both Mahendrapāla and Śūrapāla (I) are not at all mentioned in the genealogies given in other Pāla charters. Only in the Badal pillar inscription, Śūrapāla (I) is mentioned after Dēvapāla. Based on the solitary evidence found in the Badal pillar inscription,<sup>4</sup> scholars arrived at the conclusion that Śūrapāla (I) and Vighrapāla (I) are identical. What could be the reasons for the glaring omission of both Mahendrapāla and Śūrapāla (I) in the genealogies of the Pāla charters barring of course the Badal pillar inscription which, strictly speaking, is not a eulogy of the Pāla dynasty but a eulogy of Gurava-miśra, the minister of the Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla and his family? It is not possible to give a categorical answer to this vexed question. One

- 1 The Bādāmi inscription of Narasimhavarman (I) is written in Pallava-Grantha characters. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 1.
- 2 The Jura *praśasti* of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa (III) is written in Kannada characters (Above., Vol. XIX, pp. 287 ff.)
- 3 A number of stone image inscriptions of Śūrapāla are already known. Two Indian Museum Inscriptions of Śūrapāla, year 2. *JASB*, (1908) New Series, Vol. IV, Nos. V and VI, p. 107. *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, Lucknow, 1980, Nos. 5-6 pp. 67-70; B.N. Mukherji, *Asiatic Society Monthly Bulletin*, Calcutta, Vol. VI, No. 10, November 1971, pp. 4-5; D.C. Sircar, *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. LXI, 1975, pp. 131 ff.; *J.A.I.H.*, Vol. VII, pp. 102 ff.; Above, Vol. II, pp. 161 and plate
- 4 Above, Vol. II, pp. 161 ff. and plate; Bhandarkar's list, No. 1620.

plausible explanation that can be adduced is that both Mahēndrapāla and Śūrapāla (I) were born to Dēvapāla by his queen Mahāṭa. Queen Mahāṭa, it may be noted, belonged to the Chāhamāna stock and was the daughter of Durlabharāja I. Durlabharāja I, the Chāhamāna king of Śākambhari, as has been shown above, was earlier an ally of the Imperial Pratihāras, the inveterate foes of the Pālas of Bengal. After the success of Dharmapāla in conquering Uttarāpatha, Durlabharāja (I) changed his allegiance and entered into matrimonial relationship with the former. But the newly formed friendship did not last long between the Pālas and the Chāhamānas of Śākambhari. For, Gūvaka I, the son of Durlabharāja I, again shifted allegiance to Nāgabhaṭa (II) thus snapping once for all the ties with the Pālas. Could this shift in the allegiance of the Chāhamānas of Śākambhari back to their traditional overlords viz., the Imperial Pratihāras be a cause for the omission of the two kings, who had sprung from Chāhamāna-Pāla matrimonial relationship, in the Pāla genealogy?<sup>1</sup>

The Lucknow Museum plate of Śūrapāla (I) shows that Śūrapāla (I) was different from Vigrahapāla I, who was the son of Dēvapāla's cousin Jayapāla while Śūrapāla (I) was the son of Dēvapāla himself. While editing the charter D.C. Sircar remarked that, as a result of the discovery of the Lucknow Museum charter mentioned above, we have to place now the reigns of the two rulers viz., Śūrapāla I and Vigrahapāla I, between Dēvapāla and Nārāyanapāla.<sup>2</sup> Now with the discovery of the present charter, the reign of Mahēndrapāla who, it may be noted, had a comparatively long reign of more than fifteen years as his inscriptions show, would also have to be accommodated with Śūrapāla I and Vigrahapāla I between the reign periods of Dēvapāla and Nārāyanapāla.

Unlike in other Pāla charters, in the present charter two messengers (*dūtaka*) are mentioned in connection with the conveyance of the royal order namely Vajradēva and Śūrapāla. While noticing the occurrence of the word *ni* both at the beginning and at the end of line 1 in the Bāngarh<sup>3</sup> and Belwa<sup>4</sup> copper-plate charters, Sircar remarked "the grant was registered by two high officers of the king or was examined first by one officer and then by another officer or by the king himself."<sup>5</sup> In this case, the royal order was first brought and conveyed from the sovereign by *Mahāsēnāpati* Vajradēva, to other high officials and later on by Śūrapāla to the residents of the granted town and other local officials. This charter is therefore unique in having two royal messengers (*dūtaka*).

1 We have a similar instance of deliberate omission of the name of a king in the pedigree of the dynasty written subsequently. In the genealogy of the Chalukyas of Vātāpi, the name of Mangaleśa is simply passed on in all the subsequent records without mention (Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 349) because of his unedifying and inglorious act of trying to retain the Chalukyan throne for himself and his family ignoring the claim of the rightful heir.

2 Above, Vol. XL, p. 10.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 324 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 1 ff.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. XL, p. 4.

The progenitor of the family to which the *Dutaka* Vajradēva belonged is said to be Devaradēva. This name is of special linguistic interest. It is already known that the dynasties like the Pālas, the Senas, etc., who ruled over parts of Bihar and Bengal, had intimate association with Karnaṭaka as known from their own records. The word *devaradēvah* occurs in Kannaḍa language and it stands for the Sanskrit word *dēvasya devah, ra* forming the genitive suffix in Kannaḍa grammar. There are several words with the genitive suffix *ra* in Kannaḍa language like *dēvara-gudī, devara-mane*, etc. It is possible to postulate that the occurrence of this name is one more tangible proof of the intimate association the Palas of Bengal had with Karnaṭaka.<sup>1</sup>

It has been seen above (verse 7) that Devapala constructed two temples, one dedicated to Sugata (*Sugata-sadma*) and another for Gaurī (*Gauryah griham*). It is, however, not clear whether Gaurī represented the Hindu goddess or a Buddhist goddess. The plate under discussion states that the *vihara* set up by Mahēndrapala in the town called Nandadirghika was dedicated to Vu(Bu)ddha-bhāṭṭaraka. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the Nalanda copper-plate charter of Devapaladeva where it is stated that *Maharaja* Balaputradeva of Suvarṇadvīpa caused the construction of a *vihara* for Buddha-bhāṭṭaraka at Nalanda. It is interesting to find close similarity in phraseology in the description of the Buddha and the beneficiaries of the grant as given in the Nalanda and the present charters. As discussed above, the grant was made by Mahēndrapala for the worship and anointment of Lord Buddha, Prajñāparamita and other leading divinities, the Arya-Avaivarttikas forming the group of Bodhisattvas, eight great holy personages and individuals belonging to Arya-bhikṣhu-saṅgha. It is interesting to note that the above list reveals the hierarchical structure of the entire Buddhist order. Naturally enough, the first and foremost is Buddha-bhāṭṭaraka. After him is mentioned Prajñāparamita and other Buddhist divinities. Next in order are mentioned the group of Bodhisattvas. Their description as Avaivarttikas takes into account the fact that they are persons firmly set on the road to enlightenment. In Buddhist literature, this expression is used regularly in connection with the Bodhisattvas.<sup>2</sup>

In this connection, we may refer to the Nalanda copper-plate of Devapala, regnal year 39, in which, in lines 38-39, almost similar phraseology is found. However, both Hirananda Sastri<sup>3</sup> and D.C. Sircar<sup>4</sup> were not able to provide us the correct reading of a phrase in question which has been read by them as "*Prajñāparamitādi-sakala-dharmma-nettri-sthanasy-arthe tantra(trika) Vo(Bodhisatva-ganasya*". A closer examination of the facsimile provided in *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. XVII) shows beyond

1 D.C. Sircar, *J.N. Banerji Volume: Karnatas outside Karnata*, p. 21.

2 See *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 72.

3 Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 370-11.

4 *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 16, p. 711.

doubt that the reading here is exactly the same as in the plate under study viz., *Prajñāpāramitādi-sakala-dharmma-nētri-sthanasy-āry-āvaivarttika-Vo(Bō)dhisatva-ganasya*".

The last to be mentioned in the hierarchy are the members of the Pudgalarya-bhikshu-saṅgha. The word '*Pudgala*' in this context simply refers to a person or creature or his soul and by this is implied the fact that in terms of intellectual attainment the members of the *bhikshu-saṅgha* have a long way to go as compared with *Bodhisattvas* and *ashta-mahapurushas*.

As regards the identification of the important localities referred to in the charter, the first place of importance that finds mention is Auddalakhataka where the king (Mahendrapāla) was camping at the time the grant was issued. From the way it is described in the charter, it will appear that the place would have been on the banks of river Ganges (Bhagirathī). The Bangarh grant of Mahipala,<sup>1</sup> one of the later successors of Mahendrapāla, was issued from Vilasapura which is also stated to have been situated on the banks of the river Bhagirathi. It is, however, not possible to identify Auddalakhātaka in the present state of our knowledge. The town Nandadirghika in Kundālakhātaka-vishaya in Pundravardhana-bhukti, where Mahendrapāla constructed the *vihara* and donated it to the same town along with the neighbouring lands, cannot also now be identified. Pundravardhana-bhukti is said to have been "the biggest division or province of the Gauda empire. It extended from the summit of the Himalayas in the North to Khāḍi in the Sundarban region in the South".<sup>2</sup> Kundālakhātaka-vishaya figures in some other later charters also. While describing the boundaries of the granted town Nandadirghika mention is made of the river Ṭaṅgila (II.31, 35) which is described as flanking Nandadirghika on the east (I.31) and on the south (I.35). The river Ṭaṅgila is evidently identical with the river Tangan which flows from Dinajpur through Malda District and joins the river Mahananda at Muchia Aihō.<sup>3</sup> Kuvja-ghatika, described as situated on the banks of that river, Narayanavasa, lying between Kasiggara and Vammaka, are two places mentioned in the grant as bordering on the east of the granted town. Kuvja-ghatika can be tentatively identified with the modern village Ghalika while Narayanavasa may be identified with the modern village Lakshminarayanpur in Bamangola police station in Sadar sub-division in Malda District. Kasiggara may be identical with Kasimpur, if the latter could be an Islamised form of the earlier place-name, while Vammaka cannot be identified. The places mentioned as lying on the west of the granted town are Golaṭi, where there was a water fall, and Jagaravasaka, which contained an ant hill and an *aśvattha* tree. Vijjaka-vandhaka and Shandala. Golaṭi may probably be identical with Goaljai.

1 Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 324 ff

2 *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, ch. I, p. 24

3 *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Malda (1918), p. 5

Jagaravasaka, however, cannot be identified. Shaṇḍala can be identical with Santara. The village Uttarakuṇḍa is stated to be situated on the north-east of the granted town. There are atleast four villages in the Bamangola police station with their names prefixed by Uttara and it is not possible to identify Uttarakuṇḍa with anyone of them with certainty. The village Nandasuralpa is stated to be lying on the south of the granted village, along with the river Tangila. Nandasuralpā can be identified with the modern village Nandinadaha. It is unfortunate that it has not been possible to identify Nandadirghikā where Mahendrapala caused a *vihāra* to be set up and donated the town (*udraṅga*) along with the lands to the divinities of the very same *vihāra* as well to the mendicants (*arya-bhikṣu-saṃgha*) residing there. Svalpa-Nandapara<sup>1</sup> which lay to the south of the granted town also cannot now be identified. Darddaraṇya-maṇḍala over which king Dharmapala made Narayana, the father of Vajraṭa, as the chief (*adhipati*) also cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge. In suggesting the identifications of some of the places mentioned in the grant, we hasten to add that they are by no means certain and that we have been guided mainly by the description of these places mentioned in the grant and a comparison of the same with the details available in the modern map and the village list.<sup>2</sup> If our identification proves correct, it may indirectly help in identifying Kundalakhataka-vishaya which at best, we can say, included parts of Malda District.

The engraver Mahada is not known so far from any other epigraph. It is interesting to find that he is endowed with the title *śamanta* which shows that he might have been serving as a chieftain under the Pala king Mahendrapala.<sup>3</sup>

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

[Metres : Verses 17-19, 21, 23 *Anushtubh* : verse 24, *Indravajra* : verses 2, 25, 29 *Malini* : verse 34, *Mandakranta* : verse 20, *Pushpitagra* : verses 1, 4, 8, 10, 14-15, 26, 31, *Śardulavikridita* : verses 5, 27, 32, *Sragdharā* : verses 3, 6-7, 12-13, 16, 22, 33, *Vasantatilaka* : verses 9, 11, 28, 30 *Upajati* ]

#### Obverse

1 Siddham<sup>5</sup> | 1\* | Svasti | Śrim[a]n=manita-śasano nijava(ba)-

1 It is interesting to observe that there are a number of villages, the names of which end in 'pāra' like Benganāpāra, Dakṣiṇ Nāopāra, Gārāpāra, Meherpāra in Bamangola police station itself. See Village List of Bamangola Police Station (printed), pp. 9-10.

2 Village List of Bamangola Police Station (printed) and The One Millionth Map of India (political edition).

3 That the engravers were men of distinction who occupied a very high position in official hierarchy in the Pāla-Sena period is further known from the Deopāra *prasaṣti* of Vijayasena where the engraver Śulapāni is endowed with the title *Rānaka* and is described as the crest jewel of the guild of artists of Vārendra (*Vārendraka-śilpi-goshthi-chūdāmāni*) (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 42 ff. Bhandarkar's List No. 1683).

4 From impressions.

5 Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 lair=adhyāsītō viryavān <sup>1</sup> A[t\*]y=ānanda-subhū-  
 3 ti-nandita-mahā-dāna-priyaḥ kshantiman | bhā  
 4 svad=vaṇśa(mśa)-bhavaḥ praja(jā)-hitakarō niḥśēsha-bhūmiśvarah  
 siddhārthō bhuvanāni pātu Sugataḥ pātā cha dharmma-sti(thi)tēḥ ||  
 [1\*]Nṛipatir=iha va(ba)bhūva dhva-  
 5 sta-dōsh-āndhakārō Ravir=iva paṭa-dhāmnān=dhāma Gōpāla nāmā |  
 aganita-guṇa-ratnam yam samāsādyā jātā hari-vasati-sukhēbhyō  
 6 datta-tōy-āñjaliḥ śrīḥ || [2\*] Aty=uddhata-dvishad=anēka-jay-arjjita-śrīḥ  
 śrī-Dharmmapāla iti tasya sūtō va(ba)bhūva | prakshalitāni Kali-sa-  
 7 ntamas=āvilāni yasy=Ēndradēva-yaśasā kakubhām=mukhāni || [3\*]  
 Durvvarā[n\*]=dvishatō vijitya samarē tān=Indrarāja(j=a)dikān<sup>1</sup>  
 Sindhunām=adhipa-  
 8 m=pramadhya(thya) rabhasād=unmilita-kshmābhṛita | datta yēna mahi  
 mahodayavati vikrānti-bhājē nija[m\*] nirvyāja[m\*] nati Vāmanāya Va  
 (Ba)linā Chakrā-  
 9 yudhay-ā[r]thine || [4\*] Rēnun(nūn)=yasy=āṅgaṇēbhyō hata-ripu-mahishi-  
 śva(śvā)sa-vātā haranti siñchaty=ētāni mādyat=kari-karāṭa-galad=dāna-  
 tōya-pravāhaḥ [1\*]  
 10 rājñām sēvā-parāñām=praṇata-nija-śirō-ratna-pushpa-prata(tā)nair=ddōr=  
 ddarpp-ānita-lakshmi-kara-kamala-dhṛitaḥ pūjitaḥ pāda-padmaḥ || [5\*]  
 Nitēr=vilāsa-bha-  
 11 vanam=priya-Vikramayāḥ śrī-Dēvapāla iti tat=tanayō va(ba)bhūva | yaḥ  
 kautukād=iva jagatpu(t=pa)daṇin=didrikshuś=chamkramyatē sma bhavan-  
 āṅgaṇa-lilay=eva || [6\*] Da-  
 12 ṇḍ-ōpanita-kanakair=vvasudhādhipānām rājā mahā-samara-nāṭaka-  
 sūtradhārah | yō nirmame Sugata-sadma-grīhañ=cha Gaurya  
 yat=kautukañ=cha vi(ti)la-  
 13 kañ=cha jagat=trayē='pi || [7\*] Durvvar-āstra-nipāta-bhishāṇa-ṇat=  
 sannāha-lavdhō(bdh-ō)dayam(yam)| sākshikṛitya vibhāvasum ṇaṇa-śirō-  
 vēdi-mahāmaṇḍapē | kha-  
 14 ḍg-āvarjjitai(ta)-vairi-vāraṇa-ghaṭa-kumbh-āśrig-ambhaḥ-plutō yō jagrāha  
 karam kshitiśvara-varō niḥśēsha-bhūbhṛid-bhuvām(vām) || [8\*] Yam  
 yōdhayāmās ur=arātayas=tē yē-  
 15 shām riraṁsā sura-sundaribhiḥ | tathā Vivasvad=bhramaṇ-āvadhinī yaiḥ  
 krētum ishtāny=asubhir=yaśānsi(msi)|| [9\*] Dharmmasya prasavēna yēna  
 vipulam=bhutiñ=chi-

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1 The stroke is redundant



- 16 ram=vibhrata bhrū-lilā-huta-Kāmarūpa-vibhavēn=ārōhat=ādyam=  
bhṛisham(śam)| Durggāyās=cha Himālay=āchala-bhuvah ślāghyañ=  
karañ=grihna(hṇa)tā samyaktvam=pa-
- 17 ramēśvaratvam=aparan=dēvēna<sup>1</sup> sandarśitam|| [10\*] Sa Chāhamān-ānvaya-  
vāridh-indōḥ sadhvīm sutām Durllabha-rāja-nāmnah śrī-Māhaṭām  
dharma-parām narēndratrai(s=tra)-
- 18 yim-iv-ō[dvā\*]ha salakshan-āṅgim || [11\*] Sā Dēvak=iva naradēva-sahasra-  
vandyam saukaryatō vasumati-bharam=udvahantam | Lakshmyāḥ  
svayamvarapatim=Purushō-
- 19 ttamañ=cha dēvam sut-ōttamam=asūta Mahēndrapālam || [12\*] Yasy=āśā-  
vijaya-prayāna-rajasām sāndrē samutsarppati vyūhē nirbhara-pūrit-  
āmva(āmba)-
- 20 ratayā sampādīt-ōrvvi-drumē | sprishtë pāda-talair=akāṇḍa-patan-āśāṅkā-  
chamatkāriṇō vidyam=utpatan=aika-hetum=ajayan=vidyādharāṇām-ga-  
nāḥ<sup>2</sup> || [13\*] A-prālēya-girēr=vṛishāṅka-vṛishabha-kshuṇṇ-āgra-ratna-  
sthalād=a-sindhōr=Ddaśakandhar-āri-viśikha-vyālōdit=āntarjjalāt | ā-  
pūrvv-ā-
- 22 para-dīn-mukh=aika-tilakāt śaila-dvayāt=bhūbhujō nirvyājam nipatanti  
yasya charaṇē dūr-āntarair=mmaulibhiḥ || [14\*] Khaḍg-ōtkhāta-mahēbha-  
kumbha-vi-
- 23 galat-kilāla-dharā-jalē jāto vairi-vadhū-vilōchana-vamad=vā(bā)shp-  
āmvu(mbu)bhīr=vvardhitah | santīry=ādhipatin=apām=prati-diśam yātaḥ  
sahasrair=mmukhai-
- 24 ś=chitram=[pava]ka-haraṇair-vilasito yasya pratap=analāḥ || [15\*] Tvaṁ  
sarvvadā nṛipati-chandra-jaya-śrīy-ārthi svapne=’pi na pranayini bhavatō  
=’ham ā-
- 25 sam(sam) | itham=bhiyā kupitay=ēva ripun=bhajantyā vyājṛimbhirē sam-  
ara-kēli-sukhāni yasya || [16\*] sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-pṛ.tha-pravarttamāna-  
nan-ā-

1 The poet here employs double entendre in using the word ‘Paramēśvaratvam’ according to which the king obtained the title *Paramēśvara* as well as he became equal to Śiva (because of his conquest of the Himālayan kingdoms). The word ‘kara’ too has been used in double entendre viz., in the case of the king it means the tax collected from his subjects in his Himālayan kingdoms, while in the case of Lord Śiva it means hand i.e., Śiva, obtaining the hand of Pārvatī, the daughter of Himavān

2 The phenomenon of trees blossoming on contact with damsels is called *dōhada* in Sanskrit literature

*Strinām sparśāt=pryankur=vīkasati vakulāḥ sidhu-gandūsha-sekāt=*

*pādā-ghātād=aśōkas=tīlaka-kurabakān vikshan-ālinganābhyām |*

*mandārō narma-vākyāt=patu-mṛdu-hasanāch=champakō vakra-vātāch=*

*chuto gitān=namēsur=vīkasati cha purō vartanāt=karnikārah //*

In this case, the tree which blossoms on being kicked by the foot of the damsel is Aśoka.

YEAR 7—PLATE I

Obverse

[illegible]



- 26 dhipa-nauvātaka-sampādita-sētuva(ba)ndha-nihita-śaila-śikhara-śrēṇi-  
vibhramāt | niratiśaya-ghana-ghana-ghana-ghaṭa-śyāmāyamāna-  
27 vāsara-lakshmi-samaravdha(bdha)-santata-jalada-samaya-sandēhāt  
udi(di)chīn-aneka-narapati-prābhṛitikṛit-āprameya-haya-vāhini-dhara-  
khur-ōtkhāta-  
28 dhūli-prasarita-dig-antarālāt Parameśvara-sēva-samayāt-aśēsha-Jamvū  
(mbu)-dvīpa-bhupala-pādan=a-bhara-namad=avaneh Auddalakhataka-  
samā-  
29 vāsita-śrīmaj=jayaskandhāvārāt paramasaugata-parameśvara-parama-  
bhāṭṭaraka maharajadhiraja-śrī-Devapaladeva-pad-anudhyataḥ  
30 paramasaugataḥ paramēśvaraḥ paramabhāṭṭarako maharajadhirajaḥ śrīmān  
Mahēndrapaladevaḥ kuśali || śrī-Puṇḍravardhana-  
31 bhuktau Kunda[la]khataka-vishayē Na[n\*]dadīrghik-ōdraṅge sima | Tatra  
pūrvvēṇa Taṅgila-nady=ardha-śrōtaḥ parichchhinna dakshinēn=api Kuvja-  
gha-  
32 ṭik-ar<sup>1</sup>ddha-śrōtikaya Kasiggara-Vammaka-madhyena Nārāyana-vasīya-  
pūrvva-sim-avadhiḥ | Paśchimen=api Goḷaṭi-nirjḥhare-  
33 ṇ-Āja[ga]ra-vasak-avakhatena valmika-stupen=aśvattha-vṛikshena  
Vijjagavandha  
34 kam paśchima-Shaṇḍal-antar-amalaki-vṛiksha-paryantaḥ Uttaren=āpy=  
ataḥ pūrvvamukho<sup>2</sup>=`ttarakuṇḍa dakshinena Nandasuralpa  
35 Taṅgil-arddha-śrōtō=vadhiḥ ēvan=niyamita-simni samupāgatām(tan)  
sarvvan=eva rajanaka-rajaputra-kumaramatya-bhuktipa-  
36 ti-vishayapati-l<sup>3</sup> senapaty=uparika tad=ayuktaka-l<sup>3</sup> viniyuktaka-daṇḍika-  
daṇḍapaśika-l<sup>3</sup> chaurōddharanika-l<sup>3</sup> dau[ḥ\*]sadhyaśadha-  
37 nika-[kho]la-duta-gamagamik-abhitvaramāna-hasty=aśv=ōshṭra-nau-  
va(ba)la-vyapṛitaka-go-mahishy=ajavika=va(ba)ḍav=adhyaksh=ādi-  
rajapad=opajivi-  
38 no='nyañch (nyamś=ch)=achāṭa-bhaṭa-jatīyan | yatha-kal-adhyasi-vishaya-  
vyavaharinah sa-karanan vrā(bra)hmaṇa-mānana-pūrvvakam prativāsi-  
39 naḥ kshetrakarancha(ramś=cha) yatharham=manayati vo(bo)dhayati  
samadiśati cha matam=astu bhavatam(tam) | mahasenapati-śrī-Vajradēvena  
dūtaka-mu-  
40 khēna vayam=vijñapitaḥ | yatha matā-pitrōr=ātmanah sakalasya cha satva-  
rāśēh puny=abhivṛiddhaye Nandadīrghik-ōdraṅge maya vi-

1 The *avagraha* sign is used here

2 The engraver had originally written the letter *u* after *kho* and subsequently cancelled it

3 This *danda* is redundant

## Reverse

- 41 hārah karitah tatra yath=ōpari-likhita-Nandadirghik-ōdraṅga(ṅō)<sup>1</sup>  
bhagavatō Vu(Bu)ddha-bhaṭṭarakasya Prajñāpāramit-ādi-sakala-
- 42 dharmma--nēttiri-sthānasya Āry-avaivarttika-Vō(Bō)dhisatva-gaṇasy-  
Āṣṭa-mahāpurusha-pudgal-ārya-bhikshu-saṁghasya yathārham pūjana-  
lekha(pa)-
- 43 n-ādy-arthē chivara-pimḍapāta-śayan-aśana<sup>2</sup>-glāna-pratyaya-bhaishajya-  
parishkāra-ādyartham khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-samādhān-ādy-artham anyē-
- 44 shām=api mam-abhimatānam=mat-parikalpita-vibhāgen=ānavadya-  
bhōgārtham śrīmad=Bhaṭṭarakapada[h] dadatv=iti atō='smabhi-
- 45 s=tadiya-vijñāptyā ayam yath-ōpari-likhita udraṅgaḥ sva-samva(ba)ddha-  
bhūmi-samētaś=chatus=sīmā-paryantaḥ sa-talaḥ s=ōddēśaḥ s=ōpa-
- 46 rikarah sa-paṭṭa-tar-ōpetaḥ sa-daś-apachā(rā)rah(dhah) sa-chaur-ōddhara-  
naḥ parihṛita-sarvva-piḍaḥ achāta-bhaṭa-pravēś= ākiñchit-pragrahyah |
- 47 rajakul-abhavya-sarvva-pratyāya-samēto bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyen=  
achandr-ārka-kshiti-samakalam tath=aiva pradattaḥ yatā(thā)  
bhavadbhi[h\*] sarvvair=ēva dāna-
- 48 m=idam=anumodaniyam prativasibhiḥ | kshētrakaraś=ch-ājñāśravaṇa-  
vidhēyair=bhutva samuchita-kara-piṇḍ-ādi pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ karyaḥ [I\*]
- 49 Bhāvibhir=api bhūpatibhir=bhūmē[r\*]=ddāna-phala-gauravād=apaharane  
mahān=naraka-pāta-bhayāch=cha dānam=idam=anumodya paripa(pa)  
laniyam=i-
- 50 ti | Samvat 7 Vaiśākha-dinē 2 tathā cha dharmm-ānuśa(śam)nsa(sa)na-  
ślokaḥ | Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudha datta rajabhiḥ Sagar-adibhiḥ[I\*] yasya  
yasya ya-
- 51 dā bhumis=tasya tasya tadā phalam | [I\*17] Shashtir=vvarsha-sahasrani  
svarggē mōdati bhūmidah [I\*] akshepta ch=ānumana(nta) cha tāny=ēva  
narakē vaset | [I18\*]
- 52 Sva-dattām=para=dattām=vā yō hareta vasundharām [I\*]sa viṣṭāyām  
kṛimir=bhutva pīṭribhiḥ saha pachyatē || [19\*] Iti kamala-dal=amvu(ambu)-  
vi(bi)ndu-lolam
- 53 śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jivitañ=cha [I\*] sakalam=idam= udahṛitañ=  
cha vu(bu)dhva na hi purushaiḥ parakirttayō vilōpyāḥ [I20\*] Śrīmat=  
saṅgrāma-ta-
- 54 rēṇa kṛitah sukṛita-karmmani || Saumitir=iva Ramēna Śurapalō='tra  
dūtakah || [21\*] Śrīman kule mahati Dēvaradeva nama śla-
- 55 ghyō va(ba)bhuva dharani-tala-gita-kirttiḥ | ady=api sad-guna-kath-āśraya

1 There is an unnecessary punctuation mark here.

2 Read āsana

YEAR 7—PLATE II

Reverse

SEAL



*K V. Ramesh*

*Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII*

- 56 ēka ēva samkirttyatē prathamam-ēva janair=mmahadbhiḥ || [22\*] Anyō-  
 nya-spardhayā vṛiddham=ananya-jana-gōcharam | tyāgas=satyañ=cha sau  
 (śau)ryañ=cha yasya ch=aitad=guṇatrayam(yam) | [123\*] Tasy=ātmajō=  
 bhūt=kamalā-nivāsaḥ ||
- 57 Śrīmān sa Nārāyaṇadēva nāmā [\*] dharmma-priyaḥ prāṇa-samāna-satyō  
 va(ba)lena yukto gurunā mahiyān || [24\*] Amalinatara-vāri-sphāra-  
 58 dhara-nipātaiḥ | pluta-vapur=ari=vṛindam mlānayanti samantāt | api  
 kari=vara-bhēd-ōdbhūta-rakt-ānuliptā diśi diśi sitimānam  
 59 yasya kirttis=tatāna || [25\*] Tyāgo nirbhara-pūrit-ārtha-hṛidayah  
 sau(śau)ryam jit-ārātikam satyan=nirmmita-nākadhāma-dhishanā vijñā-  
 60 ta-vastu-sthiti[h\*] | kurvanē(n=nē)tra-vinōda-dāna-chaturam śīla[m\*]  
 jan=ānandakṛit | kirttir=ddik-sarasishu kairava-vana-chchhāy=ēva  
 yasy=ābhavat || [26\*]
- 61 Vahnir=vvair=indhanānam=nṛipa-śata-mūḥ-ōdghṛishta-pād-āravindah  
 pātā lōka-sthitinām prāṇayi-jana-sarōjākar=ārkaṇyamanāḥ | yaḥ pri-  
 62 thyam(thivyām)=ēka-nāthah prathita-nija-guṇa-ślaghayā varjjit-ātma  
 chakrē śrī Dharmmapālō nṛipatir=adhipatim=maṇḍalē Darādaranyām  
 (nyām)|| [27\*] Va(Ba)bhūva
- 63 lakshmir=iva tasya jāyā vapuḥ-tri(s=tri)lōki tilakam=vahanti | siddhis= tri-  
 varggasya vapushmat=iva Kalyāṇadēv=itī yathattha(rtha) nama || [28\*]  
 kula-kama-
- 64 līnī-līnā-lakshmir=ut=ālaya-dēvatā sva-pati-hṛidaya-grahīny=ēśā sati  
 kim-Arundhati [\*] kim=uta vasudhar=ēyam=vitta-prasādhita-mandirā |  
 65 iti manasi yā viṣṭā lōkāmś=chakrā vitarkitān | [129\*] Div=iva tasyām  
 Raviṇ=ēva tēna Rām=ēva samyag=vidinō(to)ggu(gu)ṇ=ādi | satv=  
 ōpakār=aika-ra-
- 66 taḥ pratāpi śrī-Vajradēvō vimāla-svabhāvaḥ || [30\*] Yo Lakshmiṇ= kulajān-  
 daya(dha)t=prāṇayinim=vīry-ōdayāl=līlayā<sup>1</sup> khaḍg-āvarjjita-danti-  
 kumbha-vi-
- 67 galad-rakt-āmvu(mbu)bhiḥ plavitaḥ | hutva śāstra-hut-aśanē ripu-  
 havir=mantr=ānvitō durllabhām(bhām) samgrāmē vija[ya\*]-śrīyam=  
 pariṇayaṇ=lōkē varatvaṇ gataḥ || [31\*]
- 68 Tyāgo durvvō(bō)dha-satyē sadasi paṭu-girō n=āpavādē parastāt | prajñā-  
 śāstrē nanartta vyapagata-tamasō vañchanē=’pi praj=ārkaḥ | kshāntir=dinē  
 na bhūyō
- 69 dvishati raṇavarē sammukhē śāstra-pāṇau | maitri tyāgē sthīrēbhun-na tu  
 chala-vanitā samprayogē=’pi yasya || [32\*] Āryeshu Jahnu-tanayā-sa-

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1. See our remarks below.



- 70 lil-ābhishekō dik-kāminishu ghana-chandana-panka-lēpaḥ [I\*] ddu(du)-  
rvvāra-vairi-vanitā-vadan-āmvu(mb)jēshu<sup>1</sup>yasy=Endra-dhāma-kalitō  
yaśasaṁ vitānaḥ [1133\*]
- 71 Bhavyasy=aitāḥ prakṛiti-ṣaṭavō yāvad=ēv=ēha gāvaḥ <sup>1</sup> tatvālōkaṁ vihata-  
tamasāḥ tanvatē sarvva-dikkaṁ | yāvat=pri-
- 72 thvi-valaya-vahan-āścharya-karmma(karmma)cha Ku(Kū)rmmaḥ <sup>1</sup> tāvat=  
tasya vrajatu kṛitinaḥ kirttir=ēsha pratishṭhām || [34\*]
- 73 Utkirṇam=idam śāsanam sāmanta-śri-Māhadēna ||

### TRANSLATION

- v.1 Auspiciousness, Hail! May the illustrious Siddhārtha, whose injunctions are obeyed (by all), who, by virtue of his spiritual power, is seated on the exalted throne, who is valorous, who is delighted by wealth, happiness and prosperity, who is fond of granting great boons, who is born in the lusturous race (solar race), who acts for the welfare of his subjects, who is the sole emperor of the entire earth, who is also known as Sugata and who is the upholder of righteousness, protect us.
- v.2 There was born a king by name Gopāla who like the sun destroyed all darkness like blemishes and whose body is resplendent. On seeing him endowed with several gem-like qualities, the goddess of wealth offered oblations of water to the comforts she accrued from her stay in the abode of Hari (in other words she deserted her lord Hari and took shelter under the king).
- v.3 His son was Dharmmapāla who attained fame in conquering many an arrogant king. His fame, like that of Indra, purified the faces of the directions defiled by the wicked Kali.
- v.4 He defeated the otherwise invincible sovereigns like Indrarāja. In a trice, he pounded the king of the Sindhu country (in battle) and handed over the sovereignty of the kingdom Mahodaya to the suppliant king Chakrāyudha like the famous demon king Bali who, without showing any trace of dishonesty, gave the entire earth to Vāmana, the incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu.
- v.5 The dust in the quadrangle (of his palace) is blown off by the breath of the dying queens of the enemy kings. The rut flowing from the temples of the mad elephants is sprinkling (the quadrangle of his palace). The jewels adorning the crown of the vassal kings who come down to pay respects to him look like the flowers offered at his lotus-like feet. In his robust hand

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1 The stroke is redundant.

rests goddess Lakshmi brought by the might of his hand.

- v.6 (He begot) in his wife by name Vikramā, the abode of morality, a son called Dēvapāla who out of sheer curiosity showed his prowess like a child's play in the quadrangle of his house.
- v.7 He during his punitive expeditions brought (as booty) gold from various kings and he was indeed the stage director in the drama that was enacted viz., the great war. He built two temples respectively for Sugata and Gauri, which by their beauty looked like the forehead mark on (the face of) the entire world.
- v.8 The day dawned with the sound of his fast thrusting impenetrable arrows and (it looked as though) he made the sun god stand in the great *maṇḍapa* of the war as witness. He made his sword get wet with the blood oozing out of the pot like heads of the elephants of the enemy forces. He collected taxes from the kings of the hilly kingdoms.
- v.9 Your enemies with whom you are fighting are equally desirous of exchanging their lives for fame and in order to enjoy the celestial damsels could reach only upto the regions of the Sun.
- v.10 The king appeared indeed as another Paramēśvara (i.e., Lord Śiva) and incarnation of perfection in collecting the commendable taxes from the impregnable Himālayan region (Lord Śiva obtained the praiseworthy hand of Pārvati, the daughter of Himavān) and who obtained great opulence by following the path of righteousness and who attained celebrity by destroying all passions with the movement of his eye-brows (Śiva destroyed Cupid with the fire of his third eye).
- v.11 He married Māhaṭa who was like the three Vēdas and who was the chaste daughter of Durlabha, who was verily the moon in the ocean of the race of the Chāhamānas. She was beautiful and interested in following the path of righteousness.
- v.12 Like Dēvaki she gave birth to a son, by name Mahēndrapāla, to whom several kings offered obeisance, who easily bore the burden (of governing) the earth and who was like god Viṣṇu whom goddess Lakshmi on her own accord chose as her husband.
- v.13 The dust raised during the victorious march (of his army) in various directions became denser and thicker and, enveloping the entire sky, created an impression of making the earth appear like a tree. The Vidyādhara, fearing that the touch of their feet might make the tree blossom out of season, hastened to go up without the help of their supernatural powers.
- v.14 The kings in the country bordered by the Himālayas, on the slopes of which

glisten the gems that have been exposed by the hooves of the bull of Śiva, by the sea that was once churned by the arrows of the destroyer of the ten headed demon (i.e., Śrī Rama) and by the two mountains which look like the forehead marks on the faces of the directions, with their crowns kept aside at a distance, offered their respects to your feet without showing any deception.

- v.15 Your fire-like prowess, wonderful indeed like the real fire, is driving away the (enemy) kings to the direction of water, the level of which is fast rising with the rut flowing from the temples of the mighty elephants hit by the sword and the tears falling from the eyes of the wives of the enemy (kings).
- v.16 Oh! moon among kings, you are always sought after by the goddess of victory. Even in dreams you never accepted her as your sweet heart. She, therefore, out of anger and fear took refuge under the enemy kings which in turn increased the pleasure (you derived) from (waging) war.

From the illustrious and victorious camp (pitched at) Auddālakhatāka where the illusion of the Sētubandha i.e., the bridge constructed between India and Śrīlankā (across the Palk Straits) with a chain of mountain tops (propped up in the sea) is produced by vessels of various kinds proceeding along the path of the river Bhāgirathi, where exceedingly dense arrays of rutting elephants darken the beauty of the day and cause the illusion of the beginning of a perpetual rainy season, where the intermediate region between the directions become grey with the dust raised by the sharp hoofs of the countless army of horses, where (the surface of the) earth is bent under the weight of endless infantry of all the kings of Jambūdvīpa (who had) come for serving their overlord (*paramēśvara*), he the *paramēśvara*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, great king of kings (*mahārājādhirāja*), the devout worshipper of Sugata (*parama-saugata*), the illustrious Mahēndrapālādēva, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Dēvapālādēva, the devout worshipper of Sugata (*parama-saugata*), the *paramēśvara*, the *paramabhaṭṭāraka* and the great king of kings (*mahārājādhirāja*), after offering respects to the *brāhmanas*, honours, informs and orders (the following persons) in the town of Nandadirghika in Kundālakhatāka-vishaya in the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, all royal officers assembled (ll. 35-37) and others (who are) royal dependents, the communities of *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, the village accountant (*karāṇa*) conversant with day to day administration, the inhabitants and the cultivators, who have been conveyed (the royal order) through the royal messenger *Mahāsēnāpati* Vajradēva. The boundaries (of the town) are on the east, the river Taṅgila, on the south the stream flowing in Kuvja-ghaṭikā, on the east Nārāyanavāsīya situated between Kāśīñjara and Vammaka, on the west water fall at Golaṭi, the anthill and the *aśvattha* tree in Jagaravāsaka,

the western limit of Svalpanandāpāra, the *vilva* tree, Vijjagavandhaka, the gooseberry tree (*āmalakī*) inside the western Shaṇḍāla, on the north east Uttarakuṇḍa and on the south Nandasuralpā and the river Taṅgila. For the increase in merit of self, parents and all living beings, I caused the construction of a *vihāra* in the town of Nandadirghika already referred to above. For the proper worship, anointment, etc., and for repairs (to the *vihāra*) of *Bhagavat* Vu(Bu)ddhabhaṭṭaraka, the abode of all the leading virtues like the Prajñāparamitas and for clothing, food, beds, seats, medical treatment and meditation of the venerable group of monks, the group of bōdhisattvas and the eight great holy personages as well as others of my choice to be allotted their respective shares in the manner in which I have enumerated. I gave as if directly by myself (*bhaṭṭarakapada*) the town (*udraṅga*) mentioned earlier alongwith the lands defined by its four boundaries, with lands with low assignments, with *yagñā* trees, with ten offences, with the right of extirpation of robbers, with the exemption from all oppresion, not to be entered by regular and irregular troops along with all revenue... by the ban of *bhūmichchhidra* as long as the moon and the sun last.

Then follow the valedictory sentence and imprecatory verses (17-20).

- v.21 While the bright star in battles was engaged in this pious act, Śūrapāla, who was like Lakshmaṇa to Śrī Rama and who was fond of doing pious deeds, was the royal messenger (*dūtaka*).
- v.22 In an illustrious family was born a person by name Dēvaradēva who possessed praiseworthy character and whose fame was sung across the country. Such were his sterling qualities that even now good people speak high of him.
- v.23 He was truthful and ready to sacrifice anything. At the same time, he was chivalrous. Thus these three qualities though mutually contradictory found an ideal abode in him which could not be comprehended by anybody.
- v.24 His son was Narāyana, who was always residing with the goddess of wealth, who was fond of doing pious acts, who was truthful even at the cost of his life and who was great in (physical) strength and stature.
- v.25 His spotless fame, like the crystal clear white pure water of the gushing water falls, starts whitening the faces of the directions which had been reddened by the blood that had oozed from the mighty elephants which had been put to the sword (in battle).
- v.26 He, of a selfless and contented disposition, was equally valorous and could destroy all foes. It is true that his intellect, bright like the firmament, had obtained true knowledge. He was great in munificence and by a look in his

- eye he would give away gifts. His sun-like fame cast a shadow over the forest of blue lotuses in the lakes in the directions.
- v.27 He used to accelerate the fire (of battle) raging in the camps of enemy kings and his lotus-like feet touched the crowns of hundreds of kings (vassals). He protected the country and was a sun to the lotus like damsels. He was the sole lord of the country and he became self effaced by the praise showered on his qualities. King Dharmmapāla made him chief of the Darddaranyamaṇḍala.
- v.28 His spouse was Kalyāṇavati who was like goddess Lakshmi, who appeared like the three supernatural powers having taken a mortal form and who was like a forehead mark on the material form of the three worlds.
- v.29 Was she the playful goddess Lakshmi born in the lotus race or was she the chaste Arundhati herself having attracted the entire heart of her lord? Or was she the presiding deity of a temple or was she the goddess earth herself having obtained a mansion of wealth? Thus she created several doubts in the minds of the people.
- v.30 From them who in turn appeared like the sky and the sun respectively was born Vajradēva who like Śrī Rāma was endowed with several praiseworthy virtues, who was always in the habit of doing good to all living beings and who was very powerful.
- v.31 He attained celebrity by marrying the rarely attainable goddess of victory who longs to give company to those who are born in the illustrious race and who are coming up in celebrity, who took bath in the blood oozing out of the temples of the (enemy) elephants cut playfully and valorously by his sword before the sacrificial altar of battle with the sacred fire in the form of (fire emitting) missiles to which oblations in the form of enemies were offered to the chanting of *mantras*.
- v.32 He was liberal, proficient and foremost in learned assemblies which had been called upon to find out the undiscernible truth and never became a back-bencher when counter-arguments were made. He did not become vain-glorious in the realm of intellect and was like the sun exposing the guiles and expelling the darkness like deceptions. He was indulgent to the distressed and never at any time exhibited any enmity to his enemies except in battles when his arms were armed with missiles. He was friendly, indulgent and firm in his actions whether the goddess of transient wealth praised him or not.
- v.33 The spread of his fame along with that of Indra was to the virtuous like being anointed with the holy waters of the Ganges, to the damsels of the quarters

like applying thick sandalwood paste and to the lotus like faces of the damsels of the impenetrable enemy kings<sup>1</sup>.

- v.34 May this eulogy (of Vajraṭa) last as long as the rays of the sun, which are by nature intense, continue to dispel darkness from all directions and the tortoise (an incarnation of Viṣṇu) continues to perform the awe-inspiring feat of bearing the burden of the earth on its back.

This charter was engraved by *Sāmanta* Māhaḍa.

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1 The author of the *praśasti* has failed to mention how the fame of Vajraṭa acted on the lotus like faces of the damsels of the impenetrable enemy kings as he had described in the case of the virtuous people and the damsels of the quarters.

## No. 3—YAWATMAL PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II, YEAR 26

( 2 Plates)

*Ajay Mitra Shastri and Chandrashekhar Gupta, Nagpur*

These two plates, forming parts of one charter and published here for the first time, were rescued by Shri R.M. Saklecha from a copper-smith at Yawatmal, the headquarters of the district of that name in Maharashtra, just when they were about to go to the melting pot. They were acquired from Shri Saklecha by Shri P.P. Kulkarni, Joint Secretary of the Coin Society of Nagpur, who was kind enough to allow us to study and publish them. We thank him sincerely for this gesture.

The plates are rectangular in shape and measure 9.5 cms. high and 19.5 cms. in length. About the middle of the left margin of each of the plates there is a circular hole meant for the passage of the copper ring which held the plates together. When these plates were rescued the ring and the seal were missing. Of the two plates, the first bears writing on both sides while the other plate is inscribed only on one, obviously, the inner side. Each inscribed face contains six lines, there being in all eighteen lines. The writing is well preserved.

The charter of which of these plates form part is incomplete and a comparison with the other Vākātaka copper-plate inscriptions shows that they represent the second and last plates of the charter respectively. The engraving of these plates is excellent.

The characters belong to the box-headed variety of the Southern alphabets. They are regular to the period to which they belong and do not call for any special remarks. However, a few interesting features may be noticed here. The joining of the left and of the cross bar and upper end of the left lower limb of the letter *k* resulting from the attempt to write the letter with a single stroke is noticed frequently (see lines 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13 and 14). Subscripts *ch* and *v* are so similar in appearance that it is difficult to distinguish them from one another. *J* is without a box; its upper part is generally smaller in breadth. Sometimes the upper part takes the form of a square as in °*jala*°, line 1; °*hārāja*°, line 2; and superscript *j* in *saty-ārjjava*, line 3, etc. Elsewhere in lines 3 and 4, it has a slight notch in both the upper and lower horizontal lines. *Bh* has generally a short horizontal stroke to right emanating from the lower end of the left limb. The final consonant is without a box and smaller than an ordinary letter (see *t* and *m* in line 10). The medial *ā* sign, the vertical line emanating from the right end of the horizontal stroke attached to the right top of the box, is fairly long. The medial *ai* in *nai* is indicated in a somewhat strange manner; one stroke is attached to the top

of the letter and the other to its left lower limb (line 5). *Visarga* has three different forms; (i) a couple of horizontal lines placed one above the other (lines 6 and 11); (ii) a dot above a horizontal line (line 4); and (iii) a horizontal line above a dot (line 16). Punctuation marks consist of one (lines 15 and 16) or two (line 17) horizontal lines which are somewhat curved. The sign for *upadhmaniya* is met with in lines 7 and 9. We find the numerical symbols for 1 (line 18), 4 (line 18), 6 (line 17), 10 (line 18) and 20 (line 17). The symbol for 6 is noticed for the first time in the Vakaṭaka records and resembles *ph*. In the Vakaṭaka epigraphs we come across two forms of 4. The form found in our record resembles that in 400 in line 20 of the Wadgaon plates of Pravarasēna II.<sup>1</sup>

As regards **orthography**, occasional reduplication of the consonant following *rēpha* (e.g., *mūrdha*, line 1; *tyārjjava* and *sauryya*, line 3; *dharmma*, line 4, etc.) and that of *v* following a real or supposed *anusvāra* (*dattām vva*, line 15; *savva*, line 17) and the employment of *anusvāra* in place of final *m* (*likhitām*, line 18) are noteworthy.

The charter refers itself to the reign of king Pravarasēna II, son and successor of Rudrasēna II of the main branch of the Vakaṭakas. Even though these are only two of the four plates of the charter, fortunately not much is lost except only the place of issue (which must have been given on the inner side of the first plate), for the missing plates contained only the initial portion of the genealogical account and such formal details as privileges and exemptions accompanying the grant. All the important points of historical interest are preserved on the extant plates.

The **genealogical** account concerning Pravarasena I was accommodated on the first plate which is missing. On the first extant (actually second) plate of our record we find mention of Gautamiputra, his son Rudrasena I, his son Prithivishena I, his son Rudrasēna II and his son and successor Pravarasena II who was born of Prabhavātigupta, daughter of *Maharajadhiraja* Devagupta (i.e., Chandragupta II Vikramaditya). Their description, which is exactly the same as found in other records of Pravarasēna II, need not be repeated here.

The **object** of the charter is to register the renewal, by Pravarasena II, of the grant of some land together with a couple of house-sites (*niveśana-dvayam*) in the village Latakāpalli included in the administrative unit called Shadgriśaka. The donees were Indrārya and Svamideva who were students of the Taittiriya *śakha* of the Black *Yajurveda* and belonged to the Vatsa *gotra*. It is stated that the land was already being enjoyed by the donees. Even though some portion of the relevant sentence is lost in the missing plate, it appears from the concluding word (though incomplete) on the second side of the first plate that the grant was renewed by means of issuing a copper-plate charter (*tamra-śasana*), viz., the present plates. The charter was issued on the

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1 *CH*, Vol V, Pl XII



eleventh day of the fourth fortnight of the summer season in the twenty-sixth year, evidently of Pravarasena II's reign. It was written under the supervision of *Sēnāpati* Bappadeva.

Reference may now be made to a few interesting points concerning the present grant. While numerous copper-plate charters of the two branches (Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma) of the Vakatakas have been already reported, they all register fresh grants and there is so far not a single instance of the renewal of an earlier grant. In so far as Vakataka epigraphy is concerned, ours is the only known charter aiming not at recording a fresh grant but renewing an earlier one. It is stated clearly that the land in question was re-granted by issuing a copper-plate charter only after ascertaining that it was already being enjoyed (i.e., was under continuous possession) by the donees (*purvva-bhujyamanika bhumiḥ*, line 12). There is no means to know as to who was the original grantor and why it became necessary to issue a fresh charter to renew the grant. However, the Kurud plates of the Śarabhapuriya chief Narēndra present an interesting parallel. We are told that the original charter written on palm-leaves (*talapatra-śasana*) was burnt in a household conflagration (*griha-dāha*) and that, after it was ascertained by the usual procedure that the gift village was under uninterrupted enjoyment by the donee's son, it was approved, i.e., renewed by Narēndra by issuing a copper-plate charter.<sup>1</sup> We have also some instances where the original copper-plate charter was burnt and had consequently to be renewed by later ruling chiefs.<sup>2</sup> The renewal of the charter in question also must have been necessitated by some similar circumstances.

The royal order regarding land-grants is generally addressed to state officials connected with the village and the administrative division in which it was situated in so far as the Vakataka charters are concerned. But the order about the renewal of the grant in the present charter is addressed to the village as such<sup>3</sup> which is rather unique and the only one in Vakataka epigraphy.<sup>4</sup>

The present inscription contains a season date. Season dates appear to have been fairly popular in the western Deccan in the early centuries of the Christian era and most of the records in the Buddhist caves of Maharashtra are dated with reference to seasons. Although in later times this system did not retain that much popularity, we have quite a few examples of season dates in Vakataka inscriptions. The Washim plates of Vindhyasena,<sup>5</sup> Dudia and Pandhurna plates of Pravarasēna II,<sup>6</sup> the two

1 *lāch ch i tāla-patra śāsana[m\*] griha-dāghē(hē) dagdham=ity=adhikaran-āvadhāranayā prāk=prabhṛity=avyavachchhēda=bhōgēn=āya[m\*] grāmō bhujyata iti* Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 265, text lines 7-9

2 This is true of the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman also. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 65-79 and plate

3 *Shadgrīśakē Lātakapalyām* (read *Lātakapallī*) *grāmō vaktav yāh* lines 10-11

4 The royal order about the grant made through the Pattan plates of Pravarasēna II is addressed to the village headed by the *brāhmanas*. See *CHI*, Vol. V, p. 60 line 21

5 *Ibid.*, p. 98, lines 28-29

6 *Ibid.*, p. 46 line 28 p. 66 lines 28 and 30-31



i a

1  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6

**i b**[illegible]

Māṇḍhal charters of Prithivishēna II<sup>1</sup> and the recently discovered plates of Rudrasēna II<sup>2</sup> are all dated with reference to seasons. It is obvious that the season dates continued in use till at least the close of the Vakāṭaka period.

Another interesting feature is the retention of Prakritism in the date portion, specially in connection with season dates, in some of the Vakāṭaka records even though otherwise they are composed in Sanskrit. It has been, for instance, noticed in the Māṇḍhal plates or Prithivishēna II<sup>3</sup> and in the still later Malhara plates of the Munda-putra king Ādityarāja.<sup>4</sup> The present plates present yet another example of this feature. In the last two lines of the record we have *savva* for *saṃvat* and *gi* for *gri* (of *grishma*).

We have numerous records of Pravarasēna dated from the second to the twenty-seventh year of his reign.<sup>5</sup> But no record of his twenty-sixth year was known so far. Ours is, thus, the first record of the twenty-sixth year to be reported so far.

We learn from the Siwani and the Wadgaon plates that Bāppadeva was holding the office of *Sēnāpati* in the eighteenth and the twenty-fifth years respectively of the reign of Pravarasēna II.<sup>6</sup> The present record shows that he continued to hold this office in the twenty-sixth year also.

Lastly, as regards the localities, the donated village Laṭakapalli may be identified with the modern village of Ladhkhed about twenty miles east of Darwha on the Darwha-Yawatmal road in the Yawatmal District. The place has remains of some Hemadpanti temples.<sup>7</sup> Shadgrīśaka, after which the administrative unit in which the granted village was situated was named, cannot be identified.

#### TEXT<sup>8</sup>

##### *First Plate<sup>9</sup> : First Side*

1. -la-jala-<sup>10</sup> Murddh-abhishiktanan=daś-aśvamedh-avabhṛitha-snatanam Bha-  
raśivanam=ma-
2. hāra(rā)ja-śrī-Bhavanaga-dauhitrasya Gautami-putrasya<sup>11</sup> Vakāṭakanam=  
mahāra-
3. ja-śrī-Rudrasenasya sunōr-atyanta-maheśvarasya satyarjjava-karunya-  
śaurya-

1 Above, Vol. XLI, pp 168-69 (lines 39-40) and p. 179 (lines 44-45)

2 They will shortly be published in this journal. The recently discovered Thalner plates of Harshena also have season date. See V V Mirashi, *Indological Research Papers*, 1, Nagpur 1982, lines 25-26

3 Above, Vol. XLI, pp 168-69, lines 39-40 and p. 179, lines 44-45

4 *Vidarbha Samśodhana Mandala Vārshika*, 1975, p. 17, line 50

5 *CII.*, Vol V, Nos 3-16, Above, Vol XXXVIII, pp 53-56; *Vidarbha Samśodhana Mandala Vārshika*, 1978, pp. 150-57

6 *CII.*, Vol V, p. 31, line 35, p. 56, line 42.

7 *Arch. Surv. of India, Western Circle-Annual Report, 1902.*

8 From the original plates

9 Actually this is the second plate of the original grant

10 Read-*thy-āmala-jala*.

11 In other plates of Pravarasēna, we generally have *Gautami-putrasya-putrasya*

4. vikrama-naya-vinaya-mahātmya-dhimatva-pātra-gata-bhaktitva-dharmma-vijayitva-manō-nai-
5. rmva(rmma)ly-adibhir-guṇais=samupētasya varsha-śatam-abhivarddhamāna-kōśa-daṇḍa-sādhana-santāna-pu-
6. tra-pautra(tri)ṇaḥ Yudhiṣṭhira-vṛittēr=Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī Prithivi (vi)shēṇasya sūnōḥ

*First Plate : Second Side*

7. bhagavataś=Chakrapa(pā)ṇēḥ=prasād-ōpārjjita-śrī-samudayasya Vākāṭaka-nām=mahārāja-śrī-Rudra-
8. sēnasya suṇē(nō)r=mmahārājādhirāja-śrī-Dēvagupta-sutāyām=Prabhāvatī (ti)guptāyām=utpa-
9. na(nna)sya Śambhōḥ=prasāda-dhṛiti(ta)-Kārttayugasya Vākāṭakānām-par-ama-māhēśvara-ma-
10. hārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya vachanāt Shadgrīśakē Lātakapalyām grāmō<sup>1</sup>
11. vaktavyaḥ<sup>2</sup> [l\*]atr-āsmābhiḥ Taitti(tti)riya-Vatsa-sagōtra-Indrariya-Svami-dēva(va)bhya(bhyām)
12. pūrvva-bhujiyamanikā bhūmir-nniveśana-dvayañ=cha bhūyō=pyasmā-bhi<sup>3</sup>[ḥ\*] tāmra-śasa<sup>4</sup>

*Second Plate<sup>5</sup>*

13. <sup>6</sup>-dara-karaṇē arit-ānēka-rāja-datta(tta)-sañchintana-paripālana-kṛita-punya (ny=a)nukirtta-
14. na<sup>7</sup> kirttayamah [l\*] Vyāsa-gitau ch-ātra ślōkau pramāṇa(ni)karttavayau [l\*] Sva-dattam-pa-
15. ra-dattam vva(vā) yō harēdyō(ta) vai<sup>8</sup> vasundharā[m\*] | gavām śata-sahasrasya hantur=hara-
16. ti dushshṛi(shkṛi)ta[m\*] || [l\*] Shashṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidah [l\*]
17. āchchettā ch-āmumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasē[t\*] [|| 2\*] savva<sup>9</sup> 20[+\*]6
18. gi pa 4 diva 10[+\*]1 Senāpatau Bāppadēvē[na] likhitam (tam) ||

1 Read °Lātakapalli-grāmō°

2 The address to the whole village met with here is not found in Vākāṭaka records

3 As the word *asmābhiḥ* has already come in line 11 above, it is redundant here

4 The remaining two letters of this word which were obviously engraved on the missing third plate were in all probability, *nēna*

5 This was the last, probably the fourth plate, of the original charter

6 The missing first two letters of this expression must have been *dharmma*.

7 Read-°*kṛita-puny-ānukirttana-parihārāya na*°.

8 This letter is redundant

9 Prakritism in *Savva* (for *Samva*) in this line and *gi* (for *grī*) in the next line is met with in other records also.

YAWATMAL PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II, YEAR 26  
—PLATE II

ii

14 14  
16 16  
18 18

14 14  
16 16  
18 18



## No. 4—KĀṬLAPAṚṚU GRANT OF VIJAYĀDITYA

(3 Plates)

*K. V. Ramesh and M.D. Sampath, Mysore.*

This set of copper-plates edited here for the first time was received from Sri B.V. Krishna Rao of Rajahmundry, Andhra Pradesh in 1938. This is reported as No. A 3 in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1938-39. This set consists of five thick copper-plates, each measuring 23 cms in length and 12 cms in width. The sheets are held together by a ring about 14 cms in diameter passing through a ring-hole 1.7 cms in diameter near the left margin on each plate. The ends of the ring are joined to the sockets of a receptacle worked like a full blown lotus spread along the ring at the bottom of a circular seal about 9 cms in diameter and 1 cm. thick. The seal bears in high relief the figure of a standing boar facing the proper left at the top with the sun and crescent in its front, the legend 'Śrī Tribhuvanankuśa' in Chālukyan characters below it and below the legend a small goad in the horizontal position. The bottom is occupied by the full blown petals of an expanded lotus. The plates with the ring and seal weigh 3,040 gms. The rims of the plates are slightly raised to protect the writing which is incised deeply on the inner sides of the first and the last plates and on both sides of the rest. The plates are numbered by means of strokes incised across their thickness but inversely beginning with the fifth plate and ending with the first.

The text contains 72 lines equally distributed on the eight sides which bear writing.

The **characters** of the record belong to the Telugu-Kannāḍa script popularly in use during the Eastern Chālukyan period and, on palaeographical grounds, are assignable to the latter half of the ninth century. The initial vowels *a*, *ā*, *u*, *e*, *ē*, and *o* and final consonants *n* (line 16), *t* (line 21) and *m* (line 8 ) are found employed. The letter form for Dravidian *r* (-°*paṛṛu*-lines 60, 62 and 63) and the *upadhmaniya* symbol are the same (*suyaśaḥ-praptam*-line 26; *śuchiḥ-prajñō*-line 51; *daḥ-prabhuḥ*-line 52; *prāptaḥ-para*-line 53; and *vaṁśajaḥ-para*-line 69). Barring these regular features, the **palaeography** and **orthography** of this charter do not call for any special remarks. Suffice it to say that the plates bear witness to the high literacy of both the composer and the engraver.

The **language** of the grant is Sanskrit throughout with a mixture of verse and prose.

The charter was issued by the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayaditya III (844-92 A.D.) and records the grant of the village Kāṭlapaṛṛu in Veṅḡi-sahasra-vishaya by the king to his brahmin general Rājāditya. The executor of the grant is Paṇḍaraṅga. The charter is silent about the date of issue and merely contains the statement that the grant was given on the occasion of a solar-eclipse.



The record commences with an invocation to Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) followed by the usual introduction of the Chālukya family (lines 1-6). Then follows the genealogical narrative starting from Vijayāditya I and ending with the issuer of the charter (verses 2-16; lines 7-25). Thereafter the reigning king is eulogised in seven verses (verses 17-23; lines 25-37). Then follows the description of the family of the donee in twelve verses (verses 24-35; lines 38-53). The details of the grant are next enumerated in lines 53-64. Lines 64-72 contain the imprecatory portion.

A point of interest in the genealogical account given in the present charter is the reference in verses 1-2 (lines 5-8) to the first ruler of the dynasty (Kubja)-Vishṇuvarddhana as the younger brother of Vijayāditya Vallabha, who was famous as Satyaśraya. It is a well-known historical fact that Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhana was the younger brother of the famous Pulakēśin II, who is thus for the first time given the name of Vijayāditya in this record. The name of Vijayāditya for Pulakēśin II does not go unsubstantiated by available historical information. We know only too well that the Eastern Chālukyan rulers had alternate coronation names Vijayāditya and Vishṇuvarddhana. Some of the records of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa contain the statement that Chalukya-Chālukya rulers were endowed with the special coronation names of Vishṇuvarddhana and Vijayāditya (*Vishṇuvarddhana-Vijayāditya-ādi-visēsha nāmnām*)<sup>1</sup>. In the light of this information, we may work out the following concordance of early Chalukya names. According to the Eastern Chālukyan story of the origin of the Chalukya family, Vijayāditya, prompted by the desire for conquest, left the throne at Ayōdhya, marched against Dakṣiṇāpatha and was killed in a fateful encounter with Trilōchana-Pallava. The widowed queen took refuge at Mudivēmu and gave birth to a son who was given the name Vishṇuvarddhana.

After coming of age, he fought against Trilōchana-Pallava, defeated him and married his daughter Uttamadānī. After vanquishing many rulers including the Kadambas and the Gaṅgas, he became the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha. To him was born a son named Vijayāditya, whose son was Pulakēśi-vallabha, none other than Pulakēśi I. Armed with this information, we arrive at the following concordance :

<i>Proper name</i>	<i>Coronation name</i>
Jayasimha	Vishṇuvarddhana
Raṇarāga	Vijayāditya
Pulakēśi I	Vishṇuvarddhana
Kirttivarman	Vijayāditya
Mangalēśa	Vishṇuvarddhana
Pulakēśi II	Vijayāditya

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1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 11 ; *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21.

It becomes apparent from the above concordance that the naming of Pulakeśin II as Vijayāditya in the charter under study is based on sound family traditions.

In the present epigraph, Vishṇuvarddhana, the father of Vijayāditya II, is said to have suppressed Bali. He is compared to god Vishṇu who, in his Vāmana incarnation, did suppress the king Bali of the Purāṇas.

*Vishnubhūpas-tatō-jātō Vishṇuvad-Bali-marddhanah*

This victory of Vishṇuvarddhana cannot but remind us of the defeat of one of the Bana kings, claiming descent from king Bali, received at the hands of the former. The senior contemporary Bāṇa ruler of Vishṇuvarddhana (c. 770-808 A.D.) was Jaya Nandivaraman<sup>1</sup> and the junior contemporary was Bāṇa Vijayāditya I, who succeeded Nandivarman in c. 793 A.D. This Vijayāditya is known to have ruled upto 845 A.D.<sup>2</sup> In the Udayendiram plates it is stated that the early members of the Bana family ruled over a tract of land called *Āndhrat-pathah-paśchimatah-kshitiḥ* i.e., the country to the west of the road leading to Andhra. This has been differently recorded as *vaduga-vaḷi-mērku* and *Vadugavaḷiyim-paduva* respectively in the Tamil and Kannaḍa inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> Bāṇa Vijayāditya I is described in the Udayendiram plates as one who dispersed a number of opponents and before whom the enemy did remain in great fear.<sup>4</sup> This signifies the stiff opposition raised by the Bana against his enemies. On the contrary, in the Chāḷukyan records, Vishṇuvarddhana is said to have inflicted defeat upon his Bāṇa adversary. This claim sounds tenable because the territory ruled by the Eastern Chāḷukyas lay adjacent to the ceded districts and Vadugavaḷi-12000 over which the Bāṇas had control.

Śilakāmbā, wife of Vishṇuvarddhana V, is described as the daughter of Indrarāja and Paramakāmbā. This Indrarāja may be identified with his namesake who was appointed as a governor of Gujarāt and Mālwa by his elder brother Gōvinda III.<sup>5</sup> If the above identification is accepted, then it is possible to infer that Śilakāmbā was a granddaughter of Nirupama-Dhruva who married Śilamahādevī, daughter of Vishṇuvarddhana IV of the Eastern Chāḷukya family. Śilakāmbā appears to have been named after her grandmother, Śilamahādevī, wife of Nirupama-Dhruva. The relationship of the two families is shown below :

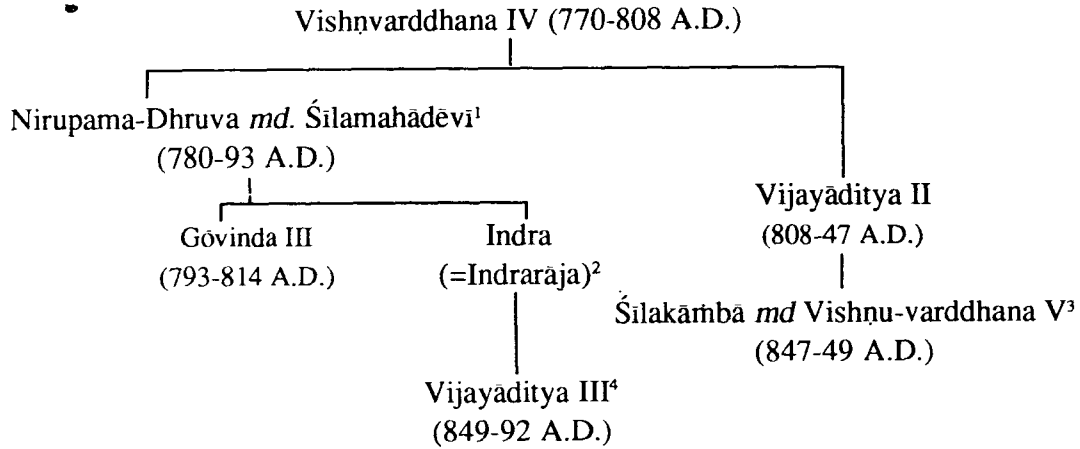
1 Above, Vol. XI, p. 222 and pp 224-25

2 M D. Sampath, *Chittoor Through the Ages*, (1980), pp 37-38, p. 47.

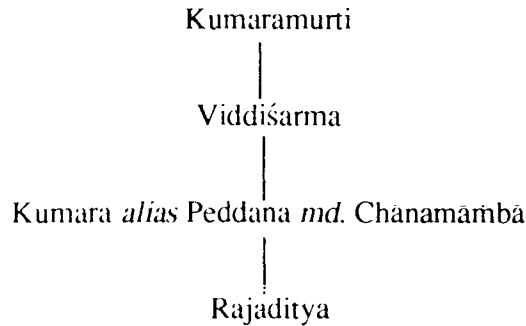
3 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

4 Above, Vol. III, p. 78.

5 G. Yazdani : *The Early History of the Deccan* (1960), p 272



As stated above, the recipient of the gift registered in this charter was the brahmin general Rājāditya. We gather from a few more Eastern Chālukyan records that the kings of that dynasty were wont to bestow similar grants on their military chiefs. The donee of the present record Rājāditya was, obviously, a powerful military chief, who had enriched the coffers of his master with booties acquired from vanquished foes. He hailed from an illustrious family of Vedic scholars who had also had close links with royal personages. The genealogical account of his family covering four generations is as follows :



Of these, Kumaramurti is stated to have developed differences with his erstwhile lord mentioned as Tonḍaman and Kaduveṭṭi and, as a result, migrated to Vēṅgi-dēśa, wherein he settled down at a village called Uṇḍi. There was born to him there his son Viddiśarma who begot as his son Kumara *alias* Peddana as a result of propitiating the god Mahāsena. His son born of Chānamamba was our hero Rājāditya.

1 Above, Vol. XXII, p. 107

2 *A R Ep.* 1938-39, No. A 3, Text line 23

3 *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 275, note 1

4 *A R Ep.* 1938-39, No. A 3, Text lines 24-25



## KĀṬLAPARRU GRANT OF VIJAYĀDITYA — PLATE I

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The identity of the Toṇḍamān lord of Kumāramūrti is uncertain. He is also referred to as Kāḍuveṭṭi, an appellation borne by both the Pallavas and the Nolambas. In the absence of any internal evidence, it is not possible to conclude as to the precise identity of the Kāḍuveṭṭi ruler.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the record, the villages Kāṭūr and Vāyalūr which were being administered by Kumāramūrti under his Toṇḍaman lord, are to be identified with their namesakes in the Chingleput Taluk and District. This would perhaps suggest that the Toṇḍamān overlord of Kumāramūrti was only a Pallava and not a Nolamba. The village Uṇḍi, where Kumāramūrti settled down after his migration, is the same as Uṇḍiśvarpura or Uṇḍiśapura which was under the rule of the Uṇḍiraja kings during the thirteenth century A.D. On the modern map, this place may be identified with the present day Uṇḍi in Ganapavaram Taluk of Krishna District. The grant village Kaṭlaparru and the villages forming its boundaries viz., Vēlivrolu, Elambara-cheruvu, Virpaṭṭu, Rāvulapaṭṭu, Gōkulamaṇḍa, Bamminipaṭṭu, Bēdyama-pūṇḍi and Velivrolu cannot be identified on a modern map. However, it may be suggested that these villages are to be located somewhere in the East Godavari District.

#### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres : Verses 1-17, 20-37 : *Anuṣṭubh*; Verse 18 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*;  
Verse 19 : *Sragdharā* and Verse 38 : *Vasantatilakā*]

#### *First Plate : Second Side*

- 1 ōm=namō Narayana(nā)ya | Svasti | Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-
- 2 sa-gōtraṇām Hariti-putraṇām Kauśiki-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājyaṇām=Mātri[gaṇa]-
- 3 paripalitāṇām Svami-Mahāsēna-pād-ānudhyātāṇām bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-[pra]-
- 4 sāda-samāsādita-vara-varāha-lāñchhan-ekshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśikṛit-ārāti-[maṇḍalānā]-
- 5 m=Aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrikṛita-vapushām Chālukyānām=abhūd=va[m]-
- 6 śē Vijayaditya-vallabhah [ |\*]Satyāśraya iti khyāta-nāmn=āpi bhuvi viśru-
- 7 taḥ | [ | 1 ||\*]Tasy=ānujaḥ prabhuḥ ukhyātō Viṣṇuvarddhana-saṁjñitaḥ | sa Durjjayaṁ samuchchātya Vēṅgi-ma-
- 8 ṇḍalam=āptavān | [ | 2 ||\*]Aṣṭau daśa cha varshāṇi kṛitv-āsau rājyaṁ=uttamam [ |\*] yayau nāka-vadhū-

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1 From inked impressions.

- 9 bhoga-varṁchhayā marutāṁ padam | [ | 3 ||\*] Tat=putrō Jayasimh-ākhyo bhūri  
simha-parākra-

*Second Plate : First Side*

- 10 mah | [ |\*] trayastrīṁśat-samah prithvīm abhuktā(ktvā) chatur-am<sup>1</sup> budhi | [ | 4 ||\*]  
Vishnu-rajas=tad-anujasy=Endrarā-  
11 jasya nandanah | [ |\*] sa dhātrīn=nava varshāṇi pālayamāsa lilaya | [ | 5 ||\*] Tasy=api  
tanayo  
12 Mamgi-yuvaraj-akhya-bhupatih nyayen=apalayad-dhātrim vatsaran=pamcha-  
vimśatim | [ | 6 ||\*]  
13 Tasmaj=jatah sutah śrīman Jayasimho mahipatih | sa trayodaśa varshāṇi  
14 rajyam chakre nṛpottamah | [ | 7 ||\*] Dvaimaturas=tad-anujah Kokkilinnā(r=nna)ma  
viśrutah | [ |\*]  
15 shanmasamatram=ev=asau palayitv-amūchad=dharam (ram) | [ | 8 ||\*] Tad-agrajas=tu  
vikhya-  
16 to Vishnuvarddhana-namavan | [ |\*] sapta-trīṁśat-samah pri(pri)thvīm raraksha  
sakalam=imam(mam) | [ | 9 ||\*]  
17 Sunus=tadiyo Vijayaditya-nama mahipatih | so='pi palitavan=u[rvvi]m=ashta-da-  
18 śa cha vatsaran | [ | 10 ||\*] Vishnu-bhupas=tatō jāto Vishnuvad=Bali-marddha  
(rdda)nah | [ |\*] shaṭtrimśa[d-va]-

*Second Plate : Second Side*

- 19 tsaran=dhātrim=apalya prayayau divam(vam) | [ | 11 ||\*] Tasya sunur=abhud-  
dhiṁan=Vijayaditya-samjñi-  
20 tah ||\*] ashtottara-śata-khyāta-yuddha-labdha-jayonnatih | [ | 12 ||\*] Tavamty=eva  
punah kritva Śambho-  
21 r=ayatanany=api | [ |\*] chatvārimśat-samah pri(pri)thvīm pralin-arim=apalayat |  
[ | 13 ||\*] Vishnuvarddhana-  
22 nam=abhut=tat-sunur=vvijit-āhitah | [ |\*] so='pi varsham sa-shanmasam bu[bhuje  
dha]raṇitalam(lam) | [ | 14 ||\*]  
23 jata Paramakambhayaś=ch=Ēndrarajasya ch=atmaja | [ |\*] Śilakambā bhavāni=va-  
Menā-  
24 Himavatos=sati | [ | 15 |\*] Tasyām cha Śilakāmbā[yam] jāta(tah tad-Vishnu-  
bhūpateḥ | [ |\*] Vijaya-

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1 The *anusvāra* is written above the letter *bu*

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- 25 ditya-nām-āmkah sūnu[r-ā-vā]rddhi-bhupatiḥ | [ | 16 ||\*] Yēn=aikēn=aiva  
khaḍgēna chatur-digma(nma)ṇḍa-
- 26 l-ādhipān [ | \*] Vijitya suyaśaḥ=prāptam tach=chhirastha-pada-dvayaḥ | [ | 17 ||\*]  
yasmin=pāti bhuvan pu-
- 27 rātana-nṛip-āchāra-śrutau kautukam lōkō=yam tyajati sphuṭam-Manu-munēr=  
ddharmm-ō-

*Third Plate : First Side*

- 28 padēśō-'py-ayam [ | \*] yasy=āchāra-path-aikadēśa iva yat-kirttēs-samastam  
jagad=vēśmatvam
- 29 gamitam sa chāru-Vijayadityō vibhaty=uttamaḥ | [ | 18 ||\*] Ā-sētō Rāma-mukta-  
pravara-
- 30 kapi-bal-ābaddha-Śailēndra-brīmdād=ā-Kailāsach=cha Pārsvaty-avachita-  
sumanōramya-
- 31 vṛikshānta-sa(sā)nōr=ā-tumgāch=ch=āsta-śailād=uḍu-kusuma-chayād=ā-punaś=  
ch=ōdayadrē-
- 32 r=yyāvantō madhya-va[r]tti-kshitipati-nikarat=tair=nnutō yō vibhāti | [ | 19 ||\*]  
Yasya
- 33 pratāpa-santāpa-khidyamān-āri-bhūmipāḥ [ | \*] pāda-chchhāyān=na muñchanti  
dvi-
- 34 pāntara-samāgataḥ | [ | 20 ||\*] Yasy-aiv=ājñāmayan tējō jagad-antaḥ-purē bhramad-  
durjja-
- 35 n-ōchchēdanāy=ālam sōdhanā-dīpikāyatē | [ | 21 ||\*] Yat-prasāda-tarōr=aindrām=  
apakva-phala-
- 36 vat=padam [ | \*] yasya krōdh-ānalasy=āpi vahnir=aurvvaḥ kaṇāyatē | [ | 22 ||\*] Yan-  
mahatvam samuddiśya

*Third Plate : Second Side*

- 37 Mērus=triṇalavāyatē [ | \*] yasy=aiv=āgādha-gāmbhīryam jānudaghnāyat  
='ēmbudhiḥ | [ | 23 ||\*] Ēvaṁ-
- 38 sthitē | Āsit=prāvachana-khyāta-vīpra-varṇśa-kulōttamaḥ [ | \*] Kāṭūru-Vāyulūr-  
ākhyā-
- 39 grāma-dvaya-patiḥ prabhuḥ | [ | 24 ||\*] Tatr-āśēsha-dēś-aika-nāyakō guna(ṇa)-  
lāṭitaḥ [ | \*] Kumāra-

- 40 mūrṭti-nām-āṁka[ḥ \*] śrīmān=bhūri-yaśō-dhanah | [ | 25 ||\*] Jaya-mān-ōddhṛitam  
hastam bhūpatēs=Torṇḍa-
- 41 māninaḥ [ | \*]n=ōddharāmy=adya tan=nūnam Kāḍuveṭṭi-mahiśa tē | [ | 26 ||\*]Ity=  
uktvā saṁpari-
- 42 tyajya dēśam māna-dhan-ānvitaḥ [ | \*] Vēṁgi-dēśam praviśy=asāv=Uṇḍy-ākhyā-  
grāma-
- 43 m=āyayau | [ | 27 ||\*] Tatra sthitvā sa tanayam=lēbhē dvija-kul-ōttamam [ | \*] Viddi-  
śarmma-ākhyam=anagham
- 44 khyatam saty-abhimāninaṁ(nam) | [ | 28 ||\*] Sō='py=ārādhyā Mahāsēnam  
chirāy=ājījanat= sutam [ | \*]Kumā-
- 45 raḥ=Peddanaś=ch=ēti nāma-dvaya-samanvitam(tam) | [ | 29||\*] Tasmāt=tu  
Chānamāmbāyām sūnur-jjā-

*Fourth Plate : First Side*

- 46 to mahayaśah [ | \*] Rajāditya iti khyatō rājiva-sama-lochanah | [ | 30 ||\*] Dus-  
sādhyān=sadhayī-
- 47 tv-ārin svasy=aiv-aik-āsi-dharayā [ | \*] dravyāny=āhṛitya bhūyāmsi svāminē  
yah=pra-
- 48 yachchhati | [ | 31 ||\*] Satya-śil-abhimān-ōru-tyāga-śauryy=ādibhir=gguṇaiḥ  
[ | \*]yēna tulyō
- 49 na lōke='sti n=āsin=na cha bhavishyati | [ | 32 ||\*] yasya jātas=suta[ ḥ \*] khyatāḥ  
Peddan-ākhyō dvi-
- 50 j-ādhipah [ | \*] svāmi-bhakti-vrata[ ḥ \*] śrīmān dig-vikīrṇa-mahā-yaśah |  
[ | 33 ||\*] Dhiraś=śū
- 51 raś=śuchiḥ=prājñō dēv-ādibhyō=nṛīṇaḥ paṭuḥ [ | \*] kulānny=uddhṛitavān sarvvān  
52 sv=āśritābhayadaḥ=prabhuḥ | [ | 34 ||\*] Ēvam-bhūtam sutam labdhvā Rajādityas=sā  
uttama[m] [ | \*]
- 53 prāptaḥ=paramam=ānamdam(da)m=aiḥik-āmutrika-kshamam | [ | 35 ||\*] tatra sa  
Vijayāditya-rājā-
- 54 dhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramabrahmaṇya=sārvabhaumō nirvvar-  
ttit-ā-

*Fourth Plate : Second Side*

- 55 śēsha-jagad-vyāpārō bhūtvā dharmm-aika-nishṭha[ ḥ \*]san prēm-ānurakta-chitta-  
tayā a-
- 56 sādharāṇa-karūṇayā cha tasmai Rajāditya-dvij-ōttamāya Sūryya-grahāṇa-nimi-

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- 57 ttē Kāṭlaparru-nāma-grāmam sarvva-kara-parihāreṇa agrahāram prādāt [ | \*]  
 58 Datvā cha vēmgi-sahasra-grāma-dēśa-rāshtrakūṭa-pramukhān kuṭumbina ittham=ā-  
 59 jñāpayati viditam=astu vō='samābhir=Vvēmgi-sahasr-ākṣya vishaye  
 60 Rājāditya=āsmāi Kāṭlaparru-grāmas=sarvva-kara-parihāren-agra-  
 61 hārō datta iti [ | \*] Asya grāmasy=āvadhayaḥ pūrvvataḥ Vēlivrōluḥ simā |  
 62 āgnēyataḥ Elambara-cheruvu | dakshinataḥ Vi[r]pparru | Nairṛityam Vi[r]pparru-  
 grā-  
 63 ma-kshētram | paśchimataḥ [Rā]vulaparru | vāyavyataḥ [Gō]gūlamaṇḍa | uttarataḥ

*Fifth Plate : First Side*

- 64 Bamminiparru Bēdyama-pūṇḍi | iśānyān=diśi Vēlivrōli-kshētram | Ētad-ashtadik-  
 si-  
 65 ma-madhyavartti-grāmaḥ | Asy=ōpari na kēnachid =bādha karttavayā | yaḥ karōti sa  
 paṁ-  
 66 cha=mahāpātaka-saṁyuktō bhavati | Bhagavata Vyāsēn=āpy=uktam | Bahubhir=  
 vvasu-  
 67 dhā datta bahubhiś=ch=ānupalitā | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā  
 68 phalam | [ | 36 ||\*] Sva-dattam para-dattam va yō hareta Vasundharām | shashṭir-  
 vvarsha-saha-  
 69 srāṇi viṣṭayam jāyatē krimiḥ | [ | 37 ||\*] Mad-varṁśa jāḥ=para-mahipati-varṁśajās=cha  
 70 pāpād=apēta-manasō bhuvi bhavi-bhūpaḥ | [yē] palayanti mama dharmmam=imam  
 sa-  
 71 mastan=tēshām=mayā virachitō='mjalir=ēsha-mūrddhni | [ | 38 ||\*] Ājñaptir=asya  
 Pāṇḍarāṁgaḥ | Śi-  
 72 vam=astu | śāntir=astu ||

## No. 5—BABBĒPALLI PLATES OF PALLAVA KUMĀRAVISHṆU

(2 Plates)

*P. V. Parabrahma Sastry, Hyderabad*

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a set of five copper-plates discovered in **Rājūgāripālem**, a hamlet of Babbēpalli village in the Addanki Taluk, Prakasam District, Andhra Pradesh, while a certain Sunkara Govardhana Rao was digging the land at a depth of one foot in S. No. 444. The set was received as treasure trove in the State Department of Archaeology and Museums, Hyderabad, through Sri T. V. Reddaiah, the Tahsildar of Addanki Taluk in March, 1980. I edit the record with the kind permission of Dr. V. V. Krishna Sastry, the present Director of Archaeology and Museums, Andhra Pradesh to whom I remain grateful.

The set consists of five copper-plates held together by a copper ring of diameter 7 cm and thickness 0.5 cm. The ends of the ring are soldered to a round seal of 3.5 cm. diameter. By the time the set reached the office, the ring was broken at the soldered part below the seal probably due to some accidental pressure on the ring. All the five plates are uniform in size with unraised rims. The average measurements of the plates are 17 cm length, 5 cm width, and 0.1 cm thickness and their weight with the ring is 477 grams. Barring the first side of the first plate and the second side of the fifth plate which carry no writing, the remaining eight sides contain four lines of writing each and the full text is thus written in 32 lines. The right top corner of the first plate is slightly cut probably while digging though, fortunately, the damage is negligible as only the last letter in the first line is lost. The writing on the whole is fairly legible and in a state of good preservation.

The seal contains the usual Pallava emblem of a recumbent bull facing proper right embossed in relief. Above and below the figure, the portions probably containing the legend seem to have been deliberately chipped off. An interesting feature noticed on the seal is that the elevated parts of the bull seem to be silver coated. It is difficult to explain this uncommon feature. The destruction of the legend portion and some other features of the record give rise to the suspicion that the charter is perhaps a re-written document. This matter will be discussed in the sequel.

This charter was issued by the Pallava king Kumāravishṇuvarman from the capital town Kañchi, to register the gift of some land in the village Kaligoṇḍa in Karma-rāshṭra to the *brāhmaṇa* named Isara-sarman (Ívara-śarman) in the king's thirteenth regnal year.

The **characters** of the record belong to the conventional Vengi type of letters. They resemble the letters of the Pikira grant<sup>1</sup> of another early Pallava king Simhavarman and the Śasanakota plates<sup>2</sup> of the Western Gāṅga king Madhavavarman I. They do not seem to be so archaic as in the Oṃgoḍu set-I<sup>3</sup> of Śivaskandavarman. The vowels *a* (line 21), *ā* (lines 18 and 31), *i* (lines 10 and 18), *u* (lines 14 and 16) and *e* (lines 13, 14 and 17) and the final consonants *n* (lines 10 and 32) and *m* (line 25) are found employed. The bottom of the letter *da* is generally elongated downwards. The central horizontal of the letter *śa*, unlike in the Pikira and Sakrepatna plates,<sup>4</sup> touches the side-verticals. The left vertical of *b* is open. The final *m* in line 25 is represented by a slant semi-circle, unlike the small *m* in the Pikira and other records of that period. These last three features pertain to the later part of the fifth century A.D. Medial long *u* of *bhu* in line 21 is a continuation of the short *u*, unlike a stroke in its middle as in Pikira and Sakrepatna plates. This is also a later development. Of the **orthographical** features, the use of *upadhmaniya* in line 25, the use of class nasals for *anusvāras* and doubling of the consonants following *repha* are noticed. Rules of *sandhi* are not observed in several instances.

**Palaeographically** the present plates can be roughly assigned to the later part of the fifth century A.D. It also seems to be later than the Oṃgoḍu set-I and does not differ much with the available single plate of the Darśi<sup>5</sup> set which, like the present grant, was issued by a great-grandson of Virakurchavarman.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and, leaving the five imprecatory verses, it is in prose composed in the usual phraseology found in the Sanskrit charters of the early Pallavas. There are several mistakes in grammar and syntax, for which the composer as well as the scribe seem to be responsible. The fifth verse in lines 27 and 28, though in *anushtubh*, is too faulty to be corrected and its meaning is also not clear.

The phraseology of the record, although faulty and incomplete, presupposes some standardised forms and phrases found in other Sanskrit charters of the early Pallavas applying the same phrases indiscriminately to different members without any significance. A deliberate attempt at Sanskritisation of some Telugu names of the boundary places is another feature to be noticed in the record.

The charter was issued from the capital Kañchipura by the Pallava king *maharaja śrī* Kumaravishnuvarman of Bharadvaja-gotra who is described as the son of *maharaja śrī* Skandamulavarman, grandson of *maharaja śrī* Karalavarman and great-grandson of *maharaja śrī* Virakorchavarman. It records the gift of sixty-four *nivartanas* of land near the village Kaligonda in Karma-rashtra to certain Īśvara-śarman of Kaśyapa-gotra.

1 Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 159 ff. and plates

2 *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 238 ff. and plates

3 *Ibid.*, XV, pp. 250 ff. and plates

4 *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, pp. 99 ff. and plates

5 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 397-98 and plate



The date of the record is the fifth day in the bright fortnight of the *mahā-Kārttika* month in the prosperous thirteenth regnal year of the king, the *nakshatra* being Viśākhā and the week-day Thursday.

The boundaries of the gift land are given in three different specifications. It seems, therefore, that the lands were situated at three places (*traī-bhūmyām* -l. 17) near the village Kaligonda. The work *traī-bhūmyām* may also mean the meeting place of the boundaries of three villages. But here three *sukshētras* or three fertile fields are separately specified.<sup>1</sup>

This inscription sheds welcome light on more than one aspect of the history of the Early Pallavas who flourished in southern Āndhra in the post-Ikshvāku period. The charter was issued from the capital Kāñchi indicating that the Pallavas of the early Sanskrit charters of the Guntur-Nellore region had their capital at Kāñchi like Śivaskandavarman of the Prakrit charters. Being earlier than the Vesanta grant of Simhavarman II<sup>2</sup> and the Chendalūru grant of Kumāravishṇu III<sup>3</sup> the other two Sanskrit charters which were issued from Kāñchipra, this record confirms that these rulers were in possession of Kāñchi from the time of Kumāravishṇu, the donor of the present charter. The statement of the Vēlūrpaḷayam inscription<sup>4</sup> that one descendant of Virakūrcha named Kumāravishṇu captured Kāñchi (*grihita-Kāñchi-nagarah*) is also confirmed by the present record and we can say that he was really in possession of that town.

Karāḷavarman and Skandamulavarman till now find mention only in the long list of the Vayalur epigraph<sup>5</sup> of Rajasimha where their names occur between Virakūrcha I and Virakūrcha II. Thus we can reasonably identify Virakūrcha of the present record with Virakūrcha I of the Vayalur epigraph. Again, the historicity of the Karāḷavarman and Skandamulavarman as son and grandson respectively of Virakūrcharvarman is also established by this record of Kumāravishṇuvarman. He was a member of the fourth generation from Virakūrcha, the founder member of the Pallava dynasty. We know from the Chendalūru plates one Kumāravishṇu, son of Skandavarman and another Kumāravishṇu, son of Buddhavarman. Kumāravishṇu of the present charter, being the son of Skandamulavarman, cannot be identified with either of those two. A third Kumāravishṇu is

1. The learned editor has somewhat misunderstood the details of grant as furnished in lines 10-17. The text in lines 10-11 must be read with only one correction as *Karma-rāshtra-Kahgonda-nāma-Vin-grāma-pathē (thah) pūrvvatah*, which would mean that one of the three pieces of lands donated lay to the east of the road connecting the two villages Kaligonda and Vingrāma in Karma-rāshtra. The other three boundaries of this piece of arable land as also the four boundaries of the other two pieces of arable lands have been enumerated in the sequel. In the light of this *traī-bhūmyām chaushashtī nivarttanāni* should be taken to mean a total of 64 *nivarttanās* drawn from the three different arable lands and, hence, Dr. Sastri's suggestion that *traī-bhūmyām* may mean the meeting place of the boundaries of the three villages does not hold water.-(Ed.)

2. N. Ramesan, *Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad*, Vol. I, pp. 211 ff.

3. Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 233 ff.

4. *SII*, Vol. II, p. 508.

5. Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 147.

stated to be the great-grandfather of Vijayaskandavarman, the donor of the Ōṃgōḍu set-I<sup>1</sup>. As his father's name is not stated in that record and because the Vāyalūr list mentions only two kings bearing the name Kumāravishṇu, it is generally believed that Kumāravishṇu of the Ōṃgōḍu set-I is identical with the first Kumaravishṇu, son of Skandavarman of the Chendalūru plates. But as the present record confirms the historicity of Skandamūlavarman of the Vāyalūr list which distinguishes him from Skandavarman, the above identity of Kumāravishṇu of Ōṃgōḍu set-I, with his first namesake of the Chendalūru plates, cannot be considered. In support of this view, Kumāravishṇu of Ōṃgōḍu set-I is stated to have performed the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, whereas Kumaravishṇu of the Chendalūru plates is not credited with that. Further, the Ōṃgōḍu set-I, issued in the 33rd regnal year of the great-grandson of Kumāravishṇu, in its palaeography and phraseology, is considered to be earlier than the Chendalūru plates issued in the 2nd regnal year of the grandson of his namesake. So they cannot be identified with each other. Even to identify him with Kumaravishṇu of the present record, a third Kumaravishṇu is to be added to the Vāyalūr list. But in view of the imperfect nature of that list this adjustment need not be considered to be a serious mistake. Till further evidence comes forth Kumāravishṇu of this charter can be taken to be his namesake of the Ōṃgōḍu set-I. About his performing of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, he might have done it later after issuing this grant. This is an attempt to find a place for him among the early members, because he happens to be the third descendant of Virakurcha I.

The genealogical table of the early Pallavas cannot be accurately constructed, for the reason that all the three predecessors of the donor of each charter cannot be assumed to have ruled at Kāñchi in their own right. In other words how many collateral lines seized the throne of Kāñchi during the long period extending about three centuries from c. 300 A.D. to 600 A.D. is not precisely known at present.

Among the officers to whom the royal order was entrusted for protection and honouring mention is made of *rāja-vallabhas*, *naiyōgikas*, *gō-pālas*, *vatsa-pālas* and *sañcharantakas*. *Rāja-vallabhas* were the king's favourites or superior officers and *naiyōgikas* were the administrative officers of the divisions. These officers were supposed to exempt the donee from taxes. *Gō-pālas* and *vatsa-pālas* were the supervisors respectively of cows and calves. The gift land was to be excluded from grazing the king's cattle. *Sañcharantakas* were the same as *śāsana-sañcharantakas* who were the messengers employed to acquaint the people every now and then about the royal orders.

The grant was issued on the fifth day (*pañchamī*) of the bright fortnight of *maha-Kārttika-māsa* in the prosperous and victorious thirteenth regnal year, the *nakshatra* being Viśākhā and the week-day Guruvāra i.e., Thursday.

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1 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 249 ff.

We notice an early reference to the method of dating in the month of two fortnights in the Sanskrit inscription of Ehavala Śrī found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa<sup>1</sup> dated on the *ekādaśī* day of the bright fortnight of the Māgha-māsa in his 11th regnal year i.e., round about 300 A.D. Still earlier, we find the mention of the month Kārttika and the day Pūrṇimā in the Nāsik inscription of Ushavadāta.<sup>2</sup> The Penugōṇḍa plates of Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman<sup>3</sup> datable to c. 400 A.D. give the date in the same method and add the *nakshatra* Bhādrapada also. The Koppāram plates<sup>4</sup> of Pulakeśin II of 631 A.D. mention Brihaspativāra (Thursday). In the Tippalūru epigraph<sup>5</sup> of the Rēṇāṭi Choḍa king Puṇyakumāra of the same period we find mention of both the *nakshatra*, Punaru-pushya and the week-day, Sōmavāra. It mentions the Hōra of Brihaspati also. The present record is about two centuries earlier than the said records of Pulakeśin II and Puṇyakumāra. On the basis of the mention of the said particulars alone the record cannot be assigned to a later date; for, this system was in vogue even from the Ikshvaku period and the other method of dating in seasons continued even in the 8th century A.D. In this record under review which is assignable to sometime in the middle of the fifth century A.D., we have an early epigraphical reference to a week-day.

The month of the date is stated as Maha-Kārttika-masa. We come across a similar term in Telugu in connection with the month Kārttika, namely Koṇḍa-Kārttika in the Tippalūru epigraph of Puṇyakumāra, the Rēṇāṭi Choḍa king referred to above. The editors of the record did not enlighten us about its significance. The word *koṇḍa* according to the Telugu lexicon, *Sūryarāyāṇḍhra-nighaṇṭuvu* means 'great', i.e., *mahat* in Sanskrit. According to the twelve year cycle of the Jupiter, the year commences on the day when that planet after its conjunction with the Sun, rises heliacally at mean sunrise in a particular constellation after which the year is named. But in our present record the month is stated to be Maha-Kārttika-masa, and not the year. So the reckoning in the record cannot be considered to be of the Jovian cycle. Some other astronomical or religious significance is perhaps implied by prefixing *Maha* before the month name Kārttika.<sup>6</sup>

A close examination of the charter gives rise to the doubt whether it is a re-written copy of an earlier original one for the following reasons :

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- 1 Above, vol XXXIII, p 148
  - 2 *Ibid*, Vol VIII, p 83
  - 3 *Ibid*, Vol XXXV, p 146.
  - 4 *Ibid*, Vol XVIII, pp 258 ff
  - 5 *Ibid*, Vol XXVII, pp 232-33
  - 6 It is probable that if two *Samkrāntis* occur in a lunar month it may be considered as a great feature and the name of that month is prefixed with *Mahā*. In the present case it is said that Viśākhā-nakshatra coincided with *pañchami* of the bright fortnight. The preceding *Samkrānti* in Kārttika would be Tulā which commences when the Sun enters the third quarter of Chitrā nakshatra. This *nakshatra* preceded Viśākhā just by three days. That being very near to Amāvāsya, it is likely that the Sun and Moon were in conjunction and Tulā-samkrānti might have taken place on *pratipat* or *dvitīyā* of this Kārttika. The next Viśchika-samkrānti might have occurred on some day close to Amāvāsya in the Viśākhā-nakshatra fourth quarter, when again Sun and Moon were in conjunction, in the *Amānta* system. Such occurrence of two *samkrāntis* might have been the reason for the month being auspicious and called Mahā-Kārttika.

1. The record begins with the invocation *Jitam bhagavatā* which is not found in the Ōṁgōḍu set-I, the early Sanskrit charter of these kings. This phrase in those days was used to invoke the Buddha as well as Vishṇu. The Tummalagūḍem set-I of the Vishṇukunḍi king Gōvindavarman<sup>1</sup> begins with a verse invoking the Lord Buddha, of which this phrase forms the commencement. Similarly the Śāsanakōṭa copper-plate charter of Gaṅga Mādhavarman I begins with the invocation to God Vishṇu is a verse commencing with this phrase. All the Sanskrit records of these Pallavas except the Ōṁgōḍu set-I begin with this phrase. This charter, therefore, seems to be later than the Ōṁgōḍu set-I.

2. We find in all their Sanskrit records excluding the Ōṁgōḍu set-I, a systematised phraseology eulogising the kings mentioned in them. The present grant in that regard finds comparison with all those records and differs with the Ōṁgōḍu set-I, where the eulogy is in the initial stage. The phraseology of this charter is therefore assignable to a period later than that of the Ōṁgōḍu set-I.

3. Certain Sanskrit words indicating the boundaries of the gift lands exhibit an attempted unnatural Sanskritisation: e.g., a small colony of lime manufacturers is named Chunōprālu, probably Sunnapāḍu in Telugu; Enamadala, the village name is taken as two components Enumu '(buffalo) and tala (head) in Telugu and Sanskritised as Mahishaśiragrāma; an old tank, that is Pāta-cheruvu, in Telugu, is Sanskritised as *Vṛiddha-taṭāka*; black tank i.e. Nalla-cheruvu in Telugu is Sanskritised as *Kaṁsāri-taṭāka*. After translating the Telugu word *nalla* into Sanskrit *kṛishṇa* (=black) and then applying the word Kṛishṇa to Vāsudeva and again twisting it to mean the enemy of Kaṁsa, the final Sanskrit form is given as Kaṁsāri-taṭāka.

4. The gift land measuring *chaushashṭi* (sixty-four) *nivartanas* was given in three units, all of them touching Sarp-ālaya or Sarpa-griha, likely a temple for the serpent god, Nāga.

5. The donee is mentioned simply by his *gōtra* and name without any attributes with regard to his learning, etc., which qualified him to receive the gift.

6. The fifth verse following the imprecatory verses, although it exhibits Prakrit influence, is totally corrupt. The purport of the verse seems to be that a certain lord of Kāñchīpura gave the gift to a *brāhmaṇa* out of devotion, and the Pallava kings should take it up for protection.

7. In regard to chronology, the donor Kumāravishṇu is the fourth member from Virakūrcha, the founder member of the family. This Virakūrcha cannot be the second one of that name, mentioned in the Vāyalūru epigraph of Rājasimha because Karāḷavarman and Skandamūlavarman, who are stated to be his son and grandson respectively, find mention before Virakūrcha II, in that list of kings of the Pallava family. Virakūrcha I, according to the accepted chronology, is assumed to have flourished in the last quarter of the third century

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1 *Ep. Andhrica*, Vol. II, pp. 9 ff.

A.D. So his great-grandson, the donor of the present grant, is to be assigned to sometime before 400 A.D. We find in the ōṃgōḍu set-I, one Kumāravishṇu whose great-grandson Vijayaskandavarman issued that charter in his 33rd regnal year. If we have to accept the regnal period of this ruler to be between 400 and 435 A.D. as assigned to him by scholars,<sup>1</sup> his great-grandfather Kumāravishṇu, who is taken by us to be the same as the donor of the grant under study, might have flourished at least sixty years before 435 A.D., the approximate date of the ōṃgōḍu set-I. The present grant is thus to be assigned to sometime between 365 and 375 A.D., whereas in its present form it looks like a later record than the ōṃgōḍu set-I. Palaeographically also this record resembles more the Pikira grant of Sirnhavarman III than the ōṃgōḍu set-I. Therefore, we may not be unreasonable in supposing that this copper-plate set is a recomposed version of an earlier record probably written in a mixed dialect of Prakrit and Sanskrit.

That was the period when Sanskrit replaced Prakrit as inscriptional language. The early Pallavas who strove hard for the promotion of Vedic-Purāṇic culture, established for the first time in coastal Āndhradeśa several *agraharas* for learned *brahmanas*, probably to counter the growing influence of Buddhism in that region. These Pallavas and the Śālaṅkayanas, say from the beginning of the fifth century A.D., replaced Prakrit totally by Sanskrit in their documents. As part of spreading the Purāṇic cult, they might have called back some of their earlier Prakrit charters and re-issued them in Sanskrit version. In the present case, the heirs of the original donee might have approached the then ruler, also a Pallava, to re-issue the grant. Consequently some agent of the king may have executed the orders of the king, without changing the names of the original donor and donee.

The Darśi single plate,<sup>2</sup> which was also given by the great-grandson of Virakūrchā, either this Kumāravishṇu himself or another king, palaeographically resembles the charter under study. It also begins with *Jitam-bhagavatā*. For the change of language from Prakrit to Sanskrit that record also might have been re-issued. These are not the only two records of this kind. The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastry, while editing ōṃgōḍu set-II<sup>3</sup> doubts the genuineness of that charter. Similarly, C.R. Krishnamacharlu while editing the Chura grant<sup>4</sup> not only expresses a similar doubt, but also says that it is difficult to know why some grants of these Pallavas are re-written. A more specific example in this regard we find in the Andhavaram plates of Ananta-Śaktivarman,<sup>5</sup> the Kalinga king of Māthara-gōtra, who explicitly states that he is re-issuing the charter which was originally issued by Āryaka Śakti-Bhaṭṭarakapāda who was none other than his own grandfather.

1 *The Vākāṭaka Gupta Age*, p. 234 - Chapter on 'Early Pallavas' by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; T.V. Mahalingam, *Kāñchipuram in Early South Indian History*, p. 33.

2 Above, Vol. I, pp. 397-98.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 252 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 137 ff.

5 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 176 and 231.

To conclude, it can be said reasonably that the present charter is a revised version in Sanskrit issued in about 460 A.D. This is composed by some ordinary *brāhmaṇa*, who was not well versed in Sanskrit. Its original version might have been issued sometime in the second half of the fourth century A.D. in Prakrit language with some Sanskrit verses and words. Even in its present form, this charter is a valuable record for the history of the early Pallavas. In the first place, it establishes the historicity of Karāḷavarman and Skandamūlavarman as son and grandson respectively of Virakūrchavarman, the founder member of the Pallava dynasty. Till now we know their names from the long list of the Vayalūr epigraph only, without their mutual relationship. Secondly, like Śivaskandavarman of the Prakrit grants and Vishnugōpa, the adversary of Samudragupta, Kumāravishṇu, the donor of the present grant was also having his capital at Kāñchi and his kingdom to its north. Thirdly, even if we take it to have been issued in its present shape sometime in the later half of the fifth century A.D., this is the earliest inscription to refer to a week-day in its date portion. About the *nakshatra*, we have it mentioned in the Penugonḍa plates of Śaṅkayana Hastivarman of about of 400 A.D. which is earlier than the present charter.

Of the **Geographical** names mentioned in the record Kāñchi is the well-known capital town of the Pallavas. Karma-rāshṭra is the well-known capital town of the Pallavas and is the same as Kamma-rāshṭra or Kammana-rāshṭra. It finds mention in the Chendalūru, Ōṅgōḍu set-II and Chura grants of the early Pallavas and some early records like the Kopparam plates of Pulakēśi II and the Chendalūru grant of Sarvalōkaśraya, the Eastern Chālukya king. Kammāka-raṭha of the Jaggayyapēṭa Prakrit inscription of Siri Virapurisadata<sup>1</sup>, as pointed out by C.R.K. Charlu, also stands for Karma-rāshṭra. The modern Ongole, Addanki and Darsi Taluks of the Prakasam District and the Narasaraopet and Bapatla Taluks of the Guntur District are generally taken to have formed the ancient Karma-rashṭra. It was called Kamma-naḍu in the medieval inscriptions. The villages mentioned in the grant are Kaligoṇḍa, Virigrama, Chuṇōpraḷu, Kondamujunūru, Dōṇāvadi, Chuṇō(lū)praḷu, Mahishaśira-grāma and Pullalūru. Of these villages, Koṇḍamujunūru is identifiable with the present village of Kondamajulūru which lies to the east of the national highway between Chilakalūrupēṭa and Ōṅōle. It is a few kilometers to the south of Babbēpalli, the findspot of the plates. The village Mahishaśira is, obviously, a Sanskritized version of the Telugu name Enamadala (*enumu*=*mahisha* =buffalo; *tala* = *śiras* = head). The modern village Enamadala is a few kilometers to the north of Babbēpalli, also on the eastern side of the said highway. Dōṇāvadi may possibly be the present Drōṇadula, again a few miles south of Babbēpalli. The village Virigrāma might possibly be Viriparu near Narasaraopet. Chuṇōpraḷu is, obviously, the Prakrit name of some place connected with lime manufacture. Kaligoṇḍa is not identifiable. The village name Pullalūru appears in the Chendalūru grant of Kumāravishṇu II as the

1 Lüder's List, No. 1204.



residence of the donee. It also occurs in the Kaśakkūḍi plates of Nandivarman<sup>1</sup> where Mahēndravarmān I is stated to have defeated the chief enemies who were interpreted by scholars as the Chalukyas. And they have also identified Pullaluru with a village of that name near Kāñchi. But since there is another Pullālūru near Koppāram, which Pulakēśi II is known to have conquered from the Pallavas, it is quite probable that Mahēndravarmān I offered stiff resistance to check the advance of the enemy at this Pullaluru. The recently discovered Duddukuru copper-plate charter (unpublished) issued by him and his Chēzerla stone epigraph confirm that he attacked the Chalukya invader in these parts.

### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

(Metres : Verses 1-5 : *Anuṣṭubh*)

#### *First Plate*

- 1 Svasti [ |\*] Jitam=bhagavatat<sup>3</sup>= [ |\*]Kāñchi-puradhishtāna(na)t=parama-  
brahmanyasya sva-bahu-bal-a-
- 2 rjjit-orjjita-kshatra-tapo-nidher=vvidhi-vihita-sarvva-maryyadasya mahārājasya
- 3 śri-Virakorchhavarmanah prapauto=<sup>4</sup>bhyutthita<sup>4</sup>-śakti-siddhi-saṁpana(nna)sya  
prata[p]-o-
- 4 panata-ruja-mandalasya vasudha-tal-aika-virasya mahārājasya śri Karā-

#### *Second Plate : First Side*

- 5 lavarmanah pauto deva-dvija-guru-vṛidha(ddd-a)pachayina<sup>5</sup> pravṛi[ddha\*]-  
dharmma-saṁchaya-
- 6 sya praja-pala[na\*]-dakshasya loka-pala(la)nam pañchamasya loka-palanam saty-  
a-
- 7 tmano maharajasya śri-Skandamulavarmanah putro bhagavat-pad-anu-
- 8 ddhyato Bappa-bhattha(tta)raka-pada-bhakta[h\*] parama-bhagavato Bharadvaja-  
sa-go-

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1 *SI I*, Vol II, p 348, v 21

2 From the plates and inked stampages

3 Read *bhagavatā*

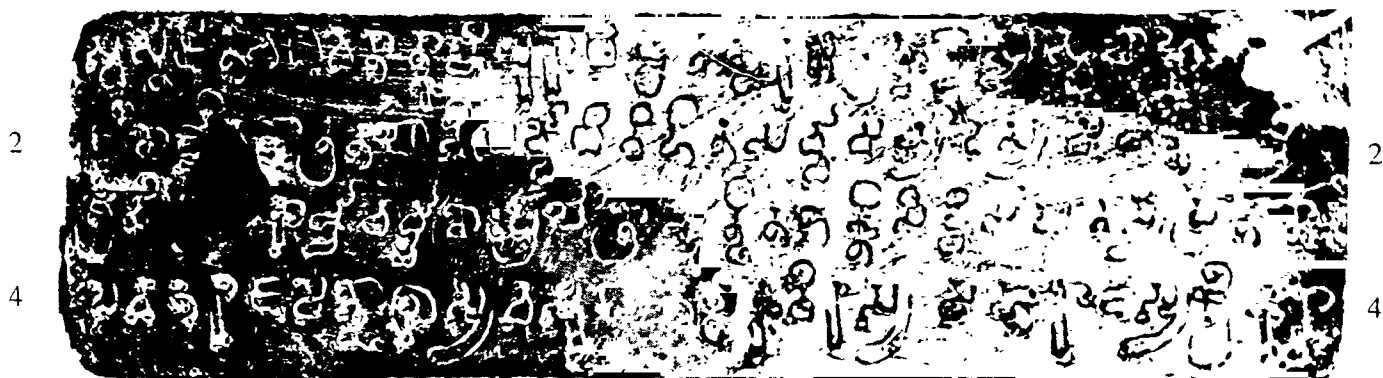
4 This occurs as *abhyuchchita* in Pīkīra, Sakrepatna and other Sanskrit charters of these kings

5 Read *vṛiddh-opachāyina*

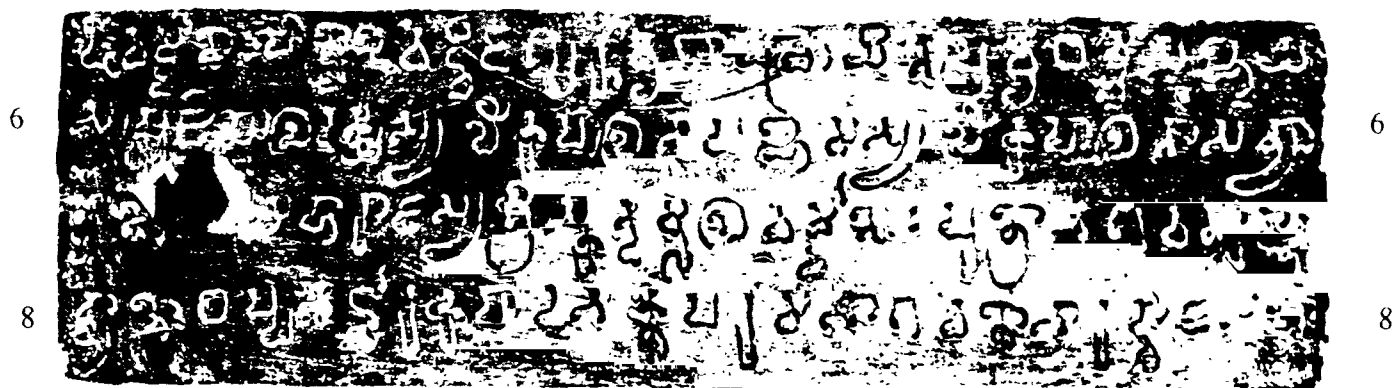
6 Read *pālasya*

BABBĒPALLI PLATES OF PALLAVA KUMĀRAVISHNU  
—PLATE I

i



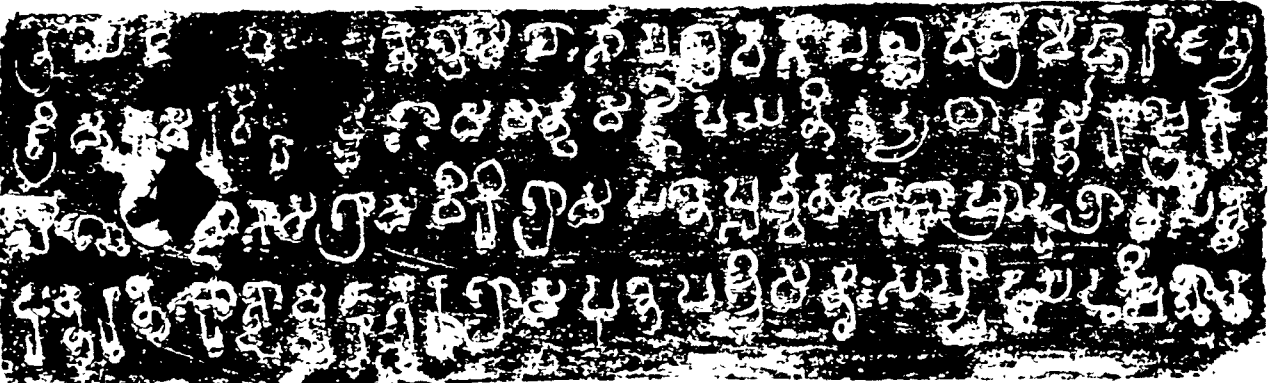
ii a





ii b

10  
12



10  
12

iii a

14  
16



14  
16

*Second Plate : Second Side*

- 9 tra(trō) yathavad-ahṛid(t)-anē[k-ā\*]śvamēdhanam Pallava(vā)nam(nām) Pallava-śrī-mahārājasya<sup>1</sup>
- 10 śrīmān Kuma(mā)ravishṇuvarmma(mā) imam-artthama(m-ā)jñāpayatī tad=yathā Karmma-rāshṭrē Ka-
- 11 ligonḍa-nāma-grāma Virigrāma-patē(thah) pūrvvataḥ Chuṇōprāḷu-grāma-sinma (simna)
- 12 pu(u)ttarataḥ Koṇḍamujunūru-grāma pate(thah) paśchimataḥ<sup>2</sup> Sarppaḷa[ya]-dakṣiṇata

*Third Plate : First Side*

- 13 ēta[ch\*]=chatur-avadhi-dakṣiṇa-sukshetrē Dōṇavadi-grāma-sinmaḥ(mnaḥ) paśchimataḥ Chuṇōḷu-
- 14 prāḷu-grāma-sinmaḥ(mnaḥ) uttara[taḥ] sarppagṛihē(ha)-pūrvvataḥ vṛidha(ddha)-taṭāka-dakṣiṇata ēta-
- 15 cha(ch=cha)tur-avadhi-dakṣiṇa-pūrvvē sukshetrē sarppagṛihē(ha)-pūrvvataḥ Mahishaśira-gāmē(ma)-
- 16 sinmaḥ(mnaḥ) dakṣiṇata[h\*] Pullaḷūru-grāmē(ma)-sinmaḥ(mnaḥ) paśchimata[h\*] Kamsāri-taṭāka[sya\*] uttarataḥ<sup>3</sup>

*Third Plate : Second Side*

- 17 ēta cah(ch=cha)tur-avadhi-pūrvō(rvvō)ttarē sukshetrē trai-bhūmyā[m] chaushasṭī nivarttanāni Kāśyā(śya)-
- 18 pa-gōtrāya Isara-sarmman[ē]<sup>4</sup> dattavān āyur-bala-puṇy-ārōgya-nimita(tta)m | sam-
- 19 pra[tta\*]s=tad-avagamyarā[java]llava(bha)-naiyōgika-gōpāla-vatsapāla-sañchara-
- 20 ntakā[h\*] pariha(hā)rai[h\*] pa[ri\*]ha[ra\*]ntu parihārayantu cha [!]\*yo='sma ch=chhāśa(sa)nam-atikra-

---

1 Read *mahārājah*

2 There is some deformation below the letter *ta*

3 In the lower central part of this plate are three concentric circles

4 Sanskrit equivalent would be *Īśvara-śarmmanē*.

*Fourth Plate : First Side*

- 21 mē[t\*] saḥ pāpaḥ śāriraṁ daṇḍam=arhati[ l\*] api ch=ātr=ārshā[h\*]śu(ślō)kāḥ [ l\*]  
Bhumi-dānā-
- 22 t-param dānaṁ na bhūtaṁ na bhaviṣyati [ l\*]tasy=aiva harana(ṇa)t=pāpaṁ na  
bhutaṁ na bhaviṣya-
- 23 ti || [ l\*] Bahurbhi=vasudha<sup>1</sup> datta(ttā) bahubhiś=ch=ānupālītā[ l\*] yasya yasya ya-
- 24 da bhumi[s\*]-tasya tasya tada pa(pha)la[m] [ || 2\*] Sva-datta(ttām) para-datta(ttā)ṇva<sup>2</sup>  
(m va) yō harēta

*Fourth Plate : Second Side*

- 25 vasundhara[m\*] ga(ga)vām śata-sahasrasya hantuḥ=pibati kilbisham [ || 3\*] Brahma-
- 26 svan-tu visha[m\*] ghōraṁ na vishaṁ visham-uchyatē [ l\*] visham-ēkākina[m\*]  
hantu(ṇti)
- 27 brahmasva[m\*] putra-pautri[kam](kam) [ || 4\*] Kāñchīpur-ādhipō(pēna) dattaṁ  
bhaktēna brahma-
- 28 naya cha [ l\*] rakshan-artthaṁ ya(ya)da bhumi-vallabha Ṛallava sadā<sup>3</sup>[ || 5\*]

*Fifth Plate*

- 29 Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē trayōdaśē Mahākā-
- 30 rttikā(ka)-māse śukla-paksha-pañchamya(myām) Viśaka(khā)-nakshatrē  
Guruva(vā)rē
- 31 La{da}rājajñā(j-ājñā)ptyā Rudra-śarmmē(rmma)ṇa(ṇa) [likhitam-i]daṁ  
sā(śā)śa(sa)nam-āchandra-
- 32 da(tā)rakam kṛtvā dattavan [ l\*] svasti go-brāhmaṇēbhyah [ ||\*]<sup>4</sup>

---

1 Read *bahubhi*=*vvasudhā*

2 Here the *sandhi* with the nasal *n* is not required

3 The second half of this verse is corrupt and does not admit of any reasonable correction

4 There is a spiral mark after this

BABBĒPALLI PLATES OF PALLAVA KUMĀRAVISHṆU  
—PLATE II

iii b

18  
20

18  
20

iv a

22  
24

22  
24

iv b

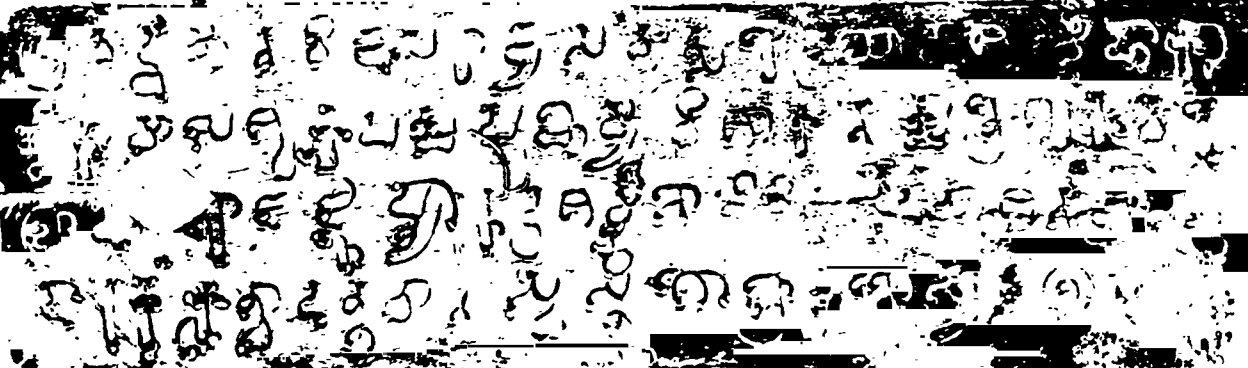
26  
28



26 28

v

30  
32



30 32

## No. 6—A NOTE ON KAVUTĀLAM INSCRIPTION OF ACHYUTARĀYA, ŚAKA 1454

*Madhav N. Katti and N. Nanjundaswamy, Mysore*

The inscription<sup>1</sup> taken up for discussion here is engraved on the wall of the Añjaneya temple in the village Kavutālam, Adoni Taluk, Kurnool District. It is dated Śaka 1454, Nandana, Phalguna ba. 7, Monday, corresponding to 1533 A.D. March 17. The record refers itself to the reign of Achyutaraya who ruled the Vijayanagara empire from 1529 to 1542 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription states that a grant was made to the *samasta-gauḍu-praje* of Kavatālada sime by Salakayadēva Chika-Tirumalaraya-mahā-arasu, who is referred to as *Achyutarāyara-bhuja pratāp-ōd[ḍ]amḍa* and *mahamaṇḍalēśvara* (lines 6-11). The inscription states that all the people of Kavatāla had migrated from that territory (i.e., Kavatālada sime) to the Mānave territory in order to escape from the tyranny of the palace officials. At the behest of *mahamaṇḍalēśvara* Salakayadēva Chika-Tirumalarāja, who promised relief to them, the people returned to their original territory of Kavatāla. Text lines 8 to 17 read :

- 8 Mahāmaṇḍalēśva(śva)ra Salakayadēva-Chika-Tiru-
- 9 malarāja-maha(hā)-arasugaḷu Kavatālada si-
- 10 meya samasta-gauḍu-prajegaḷige [kott]a si(śi)la-
- 11 sā(śā)sanada kramav=erinterndare nimma Kavatālada sime-
- 12 yalū aramaneyavarū āvanayava<sup>3</sup> māḍalā-
- 13 gi [a]vanāyake<sup>4</sup> a(a)mji nū śa(sa)masta-prajegaḷu
- 14 simeyanu biṭ[t\*]u haṭa=maḍi Manuveya-sime-
- 15 ge biṭ[t]u hōgi yiralāgi nāu Adavanige baṇḍu
- 16 nimma Kavatālada simeya sama[sta-gauḍa-pra]-
- 17 jegaḷige kot[t]a śilāsā(śā)sanada kramav=erinterndare

The inscription is useful for highlighting some interesting aspects of the social and economic conditions of the Vijayanagara period. Again, though the text is already published, some of the readings are not correctly given there. These factors necessitate the writing of this note. The improved readings will be shown with reference to the earlier readings while discussing the relevant portion. Some of the terms used for connoting different taxes also merit discussion. The harassment of the people by the palace officials also reflects the not often narrated side of mal-administration in a bureaucratic system. The agreement reached

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1 The inscription is noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1915 as No. B 492 and the text is published in *S. II*, Vol IX, pt. II, No. 554.

2 P.B. Desai *et al.*, *A History of Karnataka*, pp. 373 ff.

3 Read °anyāyava.

4 Read anyāyake.

between the imperial officer and the people, as recorded in the inscription, shows that the highly developed bureaucratic set up of Vijayanagara had also, in its mechanism, remedial measures to set right the wrongs done. The inscription, therefore, provides a very important facet of the life of the Vijayanagara period. The entire population of Kavataḷada sime vacated the area and migrated to Manuveya sime, as a result of the harassment by the palace administration and was subsequently rehabilitated in their original territory of Kavataḷa. It is possible that the people inhabiting the Kavatala-sime had not been able to pay some taxes, etc., as expected, due to some difficult conditions and that the palace officials harassed them too much, as a result of which they had to flee from the territory, for fear of their lives and property (*avanayake amji*, line 13). The word *avanaya* i.e., *anyāya* makes it clear that the palace administration committed excesses thereby compelling the people to vacate their territory, and ultimately *Mahamandaleśvara* Salakayadeva Chika-Tirumalarāja, under whose governance the two territories must have been placed, had to personally intervene and enter into a new agreement, having come to Adavāni within which division Kavataḷa was situated, with the *gavudu-praje* i.e., the village chiefs and people (line 15), stipulating modified conditions regarding the payment of taxes etc., the details of which are furnished by the record.

*Mahamandaleśvara* Salakayadeva Chika-Tirumalarāja is already known through a number of inscriptions and he played a consequential role in Vijayanagara history in the post-Achyutaraya period.<sup>2</sup> Kavataḷa and Manuve are situated at a distance of about 20 kms from each other and must have been the headquarters of the respective territories (or subdivisions) which lay adjacent. Kavatala is the same as the present day Kautāḷam, the findspot of the record, in Kurnool District. Manuve is the present day Mānvi, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in Raichur District. Though presently the two districts are in two different States (Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, respectively), they have a geographical, cultural and linguistic contiguity and constituted parts of one division, during the Vijayanagara period and even upto recent years.

Amongst the stipulations referred to in the record, it is worth mentioning here that the *golaru* (i.e., *gollaru* who were rearing cows, sheep, etc.) had to give one sheep (*kuri*) and one young one (*marī*) for each *kuri-hindu* (i.e., flock of sheep—lines 45-46) for the purpose of butter-milk, evidently to the palace. Those who reared bullocks had to pay a tax called *mesu-vana*<sup>3</sup> (tax for grazing) for grazing their bullocks on green pastures (*hasiya sāseya*).<sup>4</sup>

The term *mesu-vana* (i.e., *mesuva hana*, money or tax on grazing) is very interesting<sup>5</sup> in that it shows that the tax was to be paid for grazing the bullocks (which evidently includes grazing of other animals also). Thus the inscription throws much welcome light on a hitherto not well known socio-economic aspect of the period.

1. Wrongly read *Māsaveya* in the published text, vide, *STI*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 554, text line 14

2. P.B. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 375

3. The published text reads *masuvana*

4. The word *hasiya* means 'green' and 'sāse' means *sesa* (crop), obviously the residue of the green. (vide, F. Kittel, *Kannada-English Dictionary*, p. 1551)

5. There are similar taxes like *pullulvu*, known through inscriptions, vide, *Prabuddha Karnataka*, Vol. 51, part II, pp. 91-92

## No. 7—BHOPAL BIRLA MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHADĒVA II, VIKRAMA 1308

(1 Plate)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

The inscription, edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, is engraved on a stone pillar now kept in the Birla Museum, Bhopal. According to the museum authorities, the pillar was originally found in the village Bamai in Raisen District in Madhya Pradesh. During my visit to Bhopal in March 1979, the museum officials were good enough to permit me to examine the inscription and prepare estampages for which I am thankful to them.<sup>1</sup>

The inscribed area measures about 25 cm in length and 27.4 cm in breadth. The size of the letters is not uniform and varies in height from 1.4 cm to 2.2 cm. The **characters** are Nāgarī and they are regular for the period to which the record belongs. Among the **palaeographical** features, the following are noteworthy. Both the forms of medial sign for ē occur here; one of them is indicated by a *prishthamātrā* as found in *varshē* in line 1, *gramē* in line 4, etc. The other is denoted by a *śīrōmatra* as seen in *Vudhē* in line 1, *dēva* in line 14, etc. There are in all 14 lines of writing. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit influenced by local dialect as seen in the use of such words as *kārāpyā*, *lagna* in line 6. The inscription is partly in prose and partly in verse. As regards **orthography**, the following features are noteworthy 1) The use of *v* for *b* as noticed in words like *Vudhē* in line 1 and *vrahmana* in line 8; 2) the doubling of consonants immediately preceded by *r* as for instance in words like *dharmma* in line 7, *sarvvā* in line 12 and *nirmmalah* in line 13.

The inscription commences with the auspicious word *ōm* expressed by a partly damaged symbol. This is followed by the details of the date, viz., Vikrama 1308, Āśvina vadi 12, Wednesday corresponding to 1251 A.D., September 13, f.d.t. °23, the month being *Pūrṇimānta*. The record then refers itself to the reign of the king Jayasimhadēva. It mentions also his chief minister (*mahāpradhāna*) *Rāja* Kamadēva. Thereafter, it records that a temple (*āyatana*) of Talakēśvara was caused to be built by *Rāja* Talakasimha, the son of *Rāja* Salakhē at the village of Vṛa(Bṛa)hma. It is further stated that a sum of 400 *drammas* were spent probably by Talakasimha, in connection with the *udyāpana* ceremony conducted very likely on the completion of the construction of the temple of Talakēśvara. The word *lagna* used in the nominative case here generally means 'adhered, clinging' etc.<sup>2</sup> In the present context, however, it may probably mean 'connected with, pertaining to' leading to the conclusion that the ceremony in question involved an expenditure of 400 *drammas*. The performance of *udyāpana* ceremony on the completion of any structure is well known in this period and this has been referred to in another inscription of the same king from Paṭhāri, dated Vikrama 1326.<sup>3</sup> In the verse portion that follows Talakasimha's father, his wife and

1 This has been noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1978-79, under Appendix B 195.

2 *Sanskrit-Hindi-English Dictionary* by Suryakanta, p 496.

3 Above, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 33 ff.



his brother are described. Verse 1 mentions Talakasimha and his father Salakhe.<sup>1</sup> Talakasimha was well-known as *dharmasīla* and he was even devoted to the gods and the *brāhmaṇas*. Verse 2 describes his wife Goga as of good character (*śilini*) and as the very incarnation of intelligence (*mati-rūpini*). She was very much devoted to her husband. The verse ends with a wish for the growth of her fame (*kirtti*). Verse 3 describes Talakasimha's brother by name Nāmadeva. He was always devoted to his studies and was a valiant and chaste person. It is not clear from the epigraph what Nāmadeva did to warrant his mention therein.<sup>2</sup> This (i.e., the text of the inscription) was narrated (probably composed) by *paṇi*<sup>o</sup> Mahāśarman and engraved (*utkirṇa*) by *sutradhāra* Ubhayadeva, the son of Sahadeva.

The epigraph under study is important in as much as this is the earliest inscription discovered so far of Jayasimhadēva who is no doubt identical with Jayasimhadēva II—Jayavarman II of the Paramara family, who ruled over the Malwa region during the period in question and is already known to us from a number of inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

With the discovery of the present epigraph, the accession of Jayavarman II is pre-dated to 1251 A.D., as against 1255 A.D. hitherto known to us.<sup>4</sup> The name of *Mahāpradhāna* Kamadeva is made available to us for the first time in this inscription. It is quite probable that he was the *mahāpradhāna* of Jayasimhadēva—Jayavarman II in the early part of his reign for in Vikrama 1317 (1260 A.D.), Raja Ajayadeva figures as the king's *mahāpradhāna*.<sup>5</sup>

The village Vra (Bra)hma, where the temple of Talakēśvara (the god evidently so named after the donor) was constructed, is obviously identical with the modern village Bamai in Raisen District where the inscription was originally discovered.

#### TEXT<sup>6</sup>

[Metre : Verses 1-3 *Anuṣṭubh*]

1. Ōm<sup>7</sup> [!\*] saṃvatu(t) 1308 varshe Āśvina vadi 2 Vu(bu)dhe ady=e-
- 2 ha samasta-rajavali-virajita-śrīmajj]=Jayasimha-
- 3 dēva-vijayarajye mahāpradhāna-raja-śrī-Kāmadē-

- 1 Salakhanasimha figures as the father of the donor Anayasimha in the Mādhātā plates of the same king, dated Vikrama 1331 (Above, Vol XXXII, pp 139 ff) Could he be identical with Salakhe, father of the donor Talakasimha of the present epigraph in which case Anayasimha and Talakasimha will have to be deemed as brothers born to Salakha. This will make Nāmadeva, mentioned in the record under study, as another son of Salakhanasimha *alias* Salakhe.
- 2 In this context the reference to Talakasimha as *varggin* in verse 1 is of interest. The word actually means 'devoted' to a side or a party or a family. Talakasimha was obviously greatly attached to the members of his family and this may explain why the inscription contains references to his father Salakha, wife Gogā and brother Nāmadeva none of whom was directly involved with the object of the inscription.
- 3 Rāhatgarh stone inscription, *Ind Ant.*, Vol XX, p 84, Mōḍi stone inscription, *PRAS W C.*, 1912-13, p 56, *A R Ep.*, 1950-51, B 124, Mādhātā Copper-plate grant, above, Vol IX, pp 117 ff. Bhilsa stone inscription, *ibid.*, Vol XXXV, p 187. Paṭhārī stone inscription, *ibid.*, Vol XXXVIII, pp 33 ff, Mādhātā Copper-plate grant, *ibid.*, Vol XXXII, pp 139 ff.
- 4 *Contra. The Paramāras* (by P. Bhatia), p 154.
- 5 Above, Vol IX, p 119.
- 6 From inked impressions.
- 7 Expressed by a partly preserved symbol.





- 4 va-samayē adya Vṛā(Bṛā)hma-grāmē rāja-śrī-Salakhē-suta-  
 5 rāja-Talakasīmha<sup>1</sup>dēva<sup>2</sup> śrī-Talakēśvarah sa<sup>3</sup> āya-  
 6 tanam kārāpyām <sup>4</sup>|| sa<sup>5</sup> udyāpanē lagna-dramā[h\*] 400 ||  
 7 Dharmmaśil=iti vikhyātaḥ rāja-śrī- Salakhē- su-  
 8 taḥ | dēva-vṛā(brā)hmaṇa-parō nityam<sup>6</sup> Talakasīm[ha\*]sya va-  
 9 rggiṇaḥ [||1||] Tasya bhāryā tu Gōga ya śilini ma-  
 10 ti-rūpiṇi | ativa-bhartri(rṭri)-bhaktā cha tasyāḥ kirttis=tu va-  
 11 rddhatu [||\*] 2 [||\*] Talakasīmhasya bhā(bhrā)tur-yaḥ Nāmadēv-ē-  
 12 ti viśrutaḥ || (I) sarvv-ābhyāsa-parō nityam paurush-ā[t]i-  
 13 khyāti-nirmmalah<sup>6</sup> [||3||] uktam=idam Pam° śrī-Mahā-śarmē(rma)-  
 14 ṇa(nā) || Sūtradhārah<sup>7</sup> Sahadēva-suta-Ubhayadēv[e]na utki-  
 15 [rṇṇam\*] [||\*]

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1 There is a scratch after the letter *ha*, looking like a *visarga* mark.

2 Read *odēvēna*.

3 Read *Talakēśvarasya*.

4 Read *kāritam* or *kārāpitam*.

5 Read *tasya*.

6 This quarter is metrically defective, there being 9 syllables instead of 8.

7 Read *sūtradhārēṇa*.

## No. 8—THREE JIṆMĀTĀ TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS OF IMPERIAL CHĀHAMĀNA DYNASTY

(2 Plates)

Ram Sharma, Mysore

These inscriptions belong to the time of two important rulers of the Chāhamāna dynasty of Sāmbhar and Ajmer. The records have been referred to several times and are more or less identical in their subject matter, but have not been edited as yet and therefore they are edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

### 1-2 Two Inscriptions of the time of Arṇūrāja, Vikrama 1196

Each of these two inscriptions is engraved on two separate pillars of the temple of the goddess called Jiṇmata, at a place which itself is known as Jiṇmāta after the name of the goddess near the village Rāvāsā in the Danta Ramgarh Tahsil, Sikar District, Rajasthan. These were noticed by D.R. Bhandarkar.<sup>1</sup> Since these two inscriptions<sup>2</sup> are identical in their contents they are examined here together. These are called here as A and B for the sake of convenience.

The inscription A contains 6 lines of writing, and covers a space measuring about 41 cm × 30 cm, while B contains 12 lines and covers a space which measures 18.5 cm × 38.5 cm. On top of the writing in A is engraved an ornamental peak-like design while a similar peak-like design is engraved at the bottom of the writing in B. The upper half of B is also marked by an arch like design along the left and right margins and the top of the writing. The **characters** employed in both the records are Nāgarī. The writing is very carelessly executed, though all the letters can be made out without much difficulty and are normal for the period for which they belong. The forms of the letters *i*, *j*, *t*, *n* and *bh* are interesting in that they represent an early phase. The letter *i* is represented by two top parallel dots having below a circle, cf. *i* in *udairā* (B, line 8). The medieval form of *j* shows a clear link between its early and modern forms, cf. Arṇuraja (A, line 3) and in °*rāja* (B, line 4). The letters *t* and *n* in *sutēna* (A, line 5, B, line 8) and *bha* in *bhaṭāraka* (A, line 2; B, line 3) retain early features. The forms of the letters *dh* and *v* are identical, cf. *dh* in °*rājadhṛ* (A, lines 2-3) and *va* in *Sarṇvat* (line 1). More interesting is the form of *r* which looks like *t*, cf. *rājā* (A, line 1), °*rāja-parāmē* (A, line 3), *bhaṭāraka* (A, line 2) and in *paramma-bhaṭāraka* (B, line 3).

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit which is influenced by local dialect. Of **orthographical** interest is the doubling of the letters following superscript *r* as *v* in *pūrvva* (A, line 2 and B, line 3), *dh* in *pravarddhamana* (A, line 4 and B, line 7), on the analogy of which a wrong doubling of the letter *m* has taken place in *paramma* (A, line 2 and B, line 3).

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1 cf. PRAS W.C. 1909-10, p. 52 and Bhandarkar's list No. 243; *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1934, p. 3, No. V.

2 They are Nos. B. 575 and B. 581 respectively of A.R.Ep., 1959-60.

THREE JINMĀTĀ TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS OF IMPERIAL  
CHĀHAMĀNA DYNASTY—PLATE I

(I)





Both the inscriptions are dated Vikrama 1196, Vaiśakha śu. 11, Monday which corresponds to 1140 A.D., April 29, the year being *Kārttikadi*.

The inscriptions commence by giving the year in Vikrama samvat as was noted above. Then the victorious reign of *samasta-rājāvali-purvaka-paramabhāṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara* Arunurājadeva is mentioned. The **object** of the inscriptions is to record the renovation of the *prāsāda* (i.e., temple), obviously the temple of the goddess Jinmātā. Jinmātā seems to be a form of Durgā and identical with Jayanti described in *Narada Samhitā*<sup>1</sup> as :

*Jayanti sundari kārya kunta-śul-āsi-dharīṇi /  
khetaka-vyāgra-hastā cha pujaṇīya śubh-anvitaiḥ //*

This description of Jayanti, however, indicates that she was a four-handed goddess and thus goes against the description of the goddess inside the temple, stated to have been "an eight-handed Mahishamardini".<sup>2</sup> However, this can be rationalized by the fact that "The goddess Durgā may have four, eight or more hands".<sup>3</sup>

The persons responsible for the renovation were Alhana of A and Delhaṇa of B who were the sons of Udayaraja. The first name as given in this inscription is Alhana, but the correct name appears to be Alhaṇa as given in the inscription of the time of Someśvara, edited below. The exact status of these people is, however, not known, but they appear to be members of an important family of the place. Then the remaining details of the date which too have already been noticed above, have been given. The inscriptions end with the expression of *Maṃgalam-mahā śrīḥ*. The name of the mason is not given in these two records; however, their calligraphy suggests that they were engraved most probably by one and the same man.

The king Arunurāja is identical with the famous ruler of this name who flourished in the Chāhamāna dynasty. Our inscriptions are important as being the only two known records of the ruler in question, as also for supplying information about his imperial status.

No name of geographical importance is found in both the inscriptions.

### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

#### (A)

- 1 Samvat 1196 samasta-rajāvali-
- 2 pūrvva[ka\*]-pa[ra]mma(ma)-bhaṭa(ṭṭa)raka-Mahārā-
- 3 jādhirāja<sup>6</sup> para(ra)mesva(śva)ra-śrī-Arunurājadevi(va)-ka-
- 4 lā(lya)na-vijaya-raje(jyē) mahi-pravarddhamanena Udaira<sup>7</sup>—[su]

1 cf. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol I, pt II, Appendix C, *Pratimā-lakṣaṇāni*, p. 128 and translated on p. 369 as "Jayanti must also be sculptured as a very beautiful woman; her hands should be made to carry the *kunta*, *śula*, *khadga* and *khetaka*. She is worshipped in thankfulness by those who are enjoying happiness".

2 cf. *DIINI*, Vol II, p. 1070

3 cf. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *op cit*, p. 341, and Appendix C, *Pratimā-lakṣaṇāni*, p. 106, *Chaturbhujasamāyuktām=ashtābhīr=dōrbhīr=anvitām*, etc.

4 cf. *PRAS.* W.C., 1909-10, p. 51, No. 30.

5 From ink impressions.

6 This letter has been engraved below the line

7 Read *Udayarāja*



- 5 tēna Alhaṇēna [prāsāda]-jirṇōdhā(ddhā)ra[h\*] sa-  
 6 mudharata<sup>1</sup> Va(Vai)sā(śā) kha sudi 11 Chamdra-dinē [||\*] maṅgalam mahā-śrī[h||\*]

(B)

- 1 Samvat 1196 sama-  
 2 [sta]-rājavali-pu-  
 3 rvva[ka\*]-paramma(ma) bhaṭa(ṭṭa) ra-  
 4 ka-Mahārajādhiraja-  
 5 paramesva(śva)ra-śrī-Arṇu-  
 6 rājadeva-kalyana-vija-  
 7 ya-raja(jye) mahi-pravarddhamane-  
 8 na Udaīra<sup>2</sup>-sutena Delha-  
 9 ṇena prāsāda-jirṇodhā(ddhā)-  
 10 ra[h\*] samudhri(ddhri)ta[h ||\*] Vaisā(śā)kha  
 11 sudi [11] Chamdra [||\*] maṅgalam  
 12 mahā<sup>3</sup>-śrīh [||\*]

### 3. An Inscription of the Time of Sōmēśvara, Vikrama 1230

This inscription<sup>4</sup> also, like the previous two inscriptions of the time of Arṇōrāja, is engraved on a pillar in the temple of Jīṇmata as mentioned above. This inscription was also noticed by Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar.<sup>5</sup>

The inscription contains 10 lines of writing, which have been engraved in the same pattern in which the previous two inscriptions have been done. It covers a space which measures about 17.5 cm × 39.5 cm. An arch-like line runs all along the left, right and top margins of the slab and there is also a peak-like triangular ornamental design at the bottom. In the case of the letters, *i*, *j*, *t*, *n* and *bh*, *v*, *n*, *l*, *r*, which have been discussed above, a definite development can be seen, cf. *i* and *r* in *udāīrā* (line 6), having a slanting bar instead of lower circle; *j* in *vijaya* (line 5), *t* in *sutena* (line 6), *n* in *rājena* (line 5) are very near to the modern forms of these letters: *bh* in *bhaṭa*° (line 2) is altogether different from the form as seen in A and B above. The forms of *dh* and *v* are similar, cf. *dh* in °*Rājadh*° (line 3) and *v* in °*dēva*°

1 Read *samuddhritah*.

2 Read *Udayarāja*.

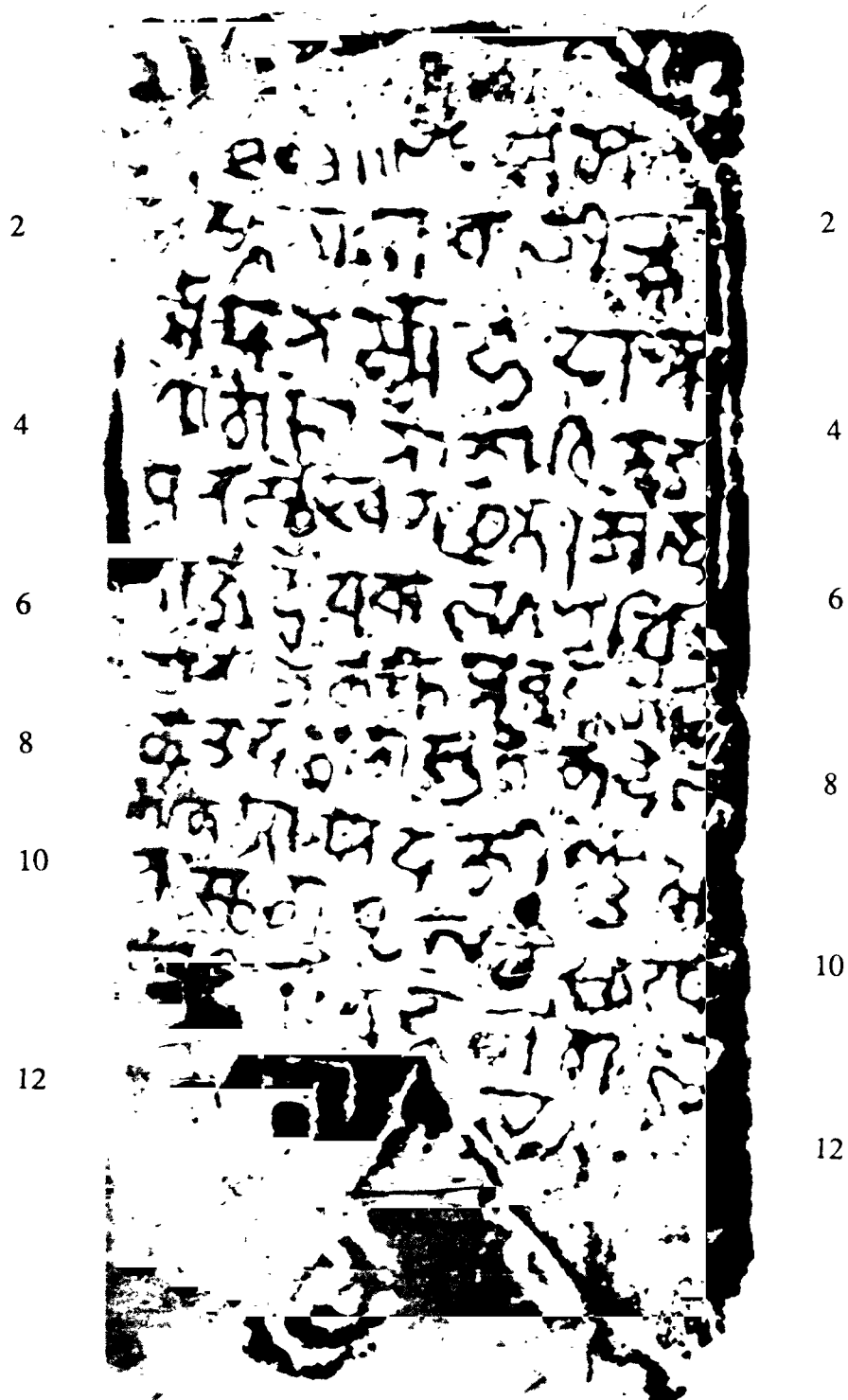
3 This letter looks like *tā*

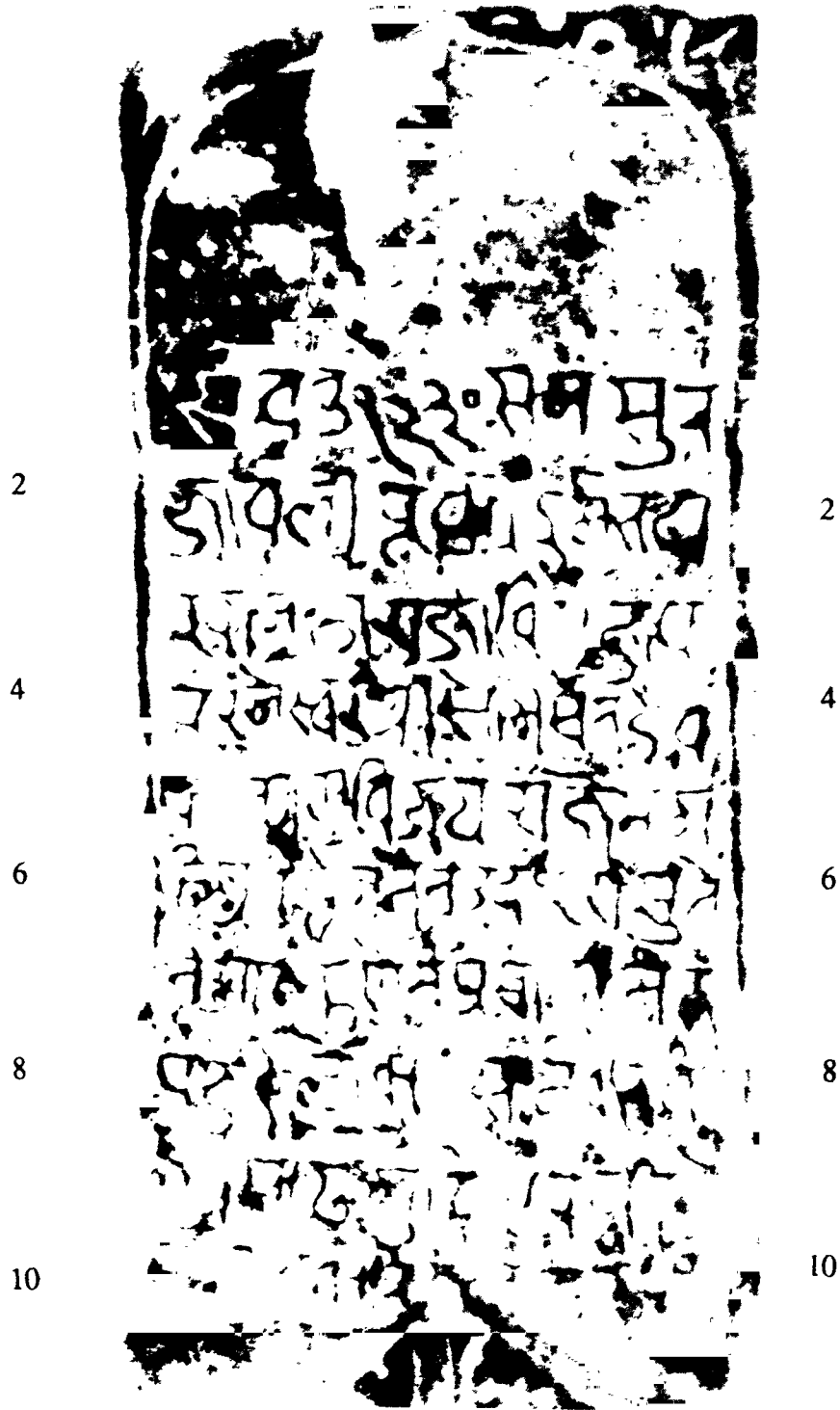
4 *A R.Ep.*, 1959-60, No B 571

5 cf. *PRAS WC*, 1909-10, p 52 and *Bhandarkar's List*, No 360

THREE JINMĀTĀ TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS OF IMPERIAL  
CHĀHAMĀNA DYNASTY—PLATE II

(2)





(line 4). However, the development of a horizontal bar can be seen in *dha* in *jirnodhara* (line 8). The letter *n* here in this place is different from *n* in *Alhanena* (line 7). The form of *r* has become normal by losing elongation of left leg which we have already seen in A and B above. The **language** and **characters** of the epigraph are Sanskrit and Nagari respectively. The influence of the local dialect is also noticed. **Orthographically** also the inscription tallies with the previous two inscriptions: the wrong doubling of *m* has, however, not taken place here.

The inscription is dated Vikrama 1230 (line 1), Ashadha śu. 9, Monday (line 9) which corresponds to 1174 A.D., June 10 according to the *Karttikadi* system.

The record, like the previous two inscriptions, commences with the Vikrama year as noted above, and likewise the victorious reign of the king Someśvara described as *samasta rajavali-purvva-ka-paramabhataraka-maharajadhiraja-paramesvara* is next mentioned. The **object** of the inscription is to register the fact that repairs were carried to the *mandapa* of the temple (*prasada*), obviously of the goddess Jinmata. The renovation was done by Alhana, son of Udaīra (i.e., Udayaraja). Obviously, this Alhana is the same Alhana as mentioned in the inscription of V.S. 1196 as noted above and which belongs to the time of Arnoraja. It is interesting to note that the same person Alhana who, along with his brother Delhana, got the temple of Jinmata renovated in Vikrama 1196, gets its *mandapa* renovated in Vikrama 1230 exactly after 34 years, one month and 13 days. The changing fortunes of the Chahamana dynasty during this period which witnessed the reigns of at least six rulers in Arnoraja, Jagaddēva, Vighraharaja (IV), Aparagangeya, Prithvibhata and Someśvara did not obviously affect the lot of Alhana who appears to have carried on smoothly with his architectural activities without bothering about political developments in the Chahamana kingdom.<sup>1</sup> The *sutradhara* was Kaladharadeva.

The king Someśvara is identical with the ruler of the same name, who flourished in the imperial Chahamana dynasty of Sambhara and Ajmer and who succeeded Prithvibhata or Prithviraja II on the Chahamana throne.

No name of geographical importance is recorded in the inscription.

#### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Samvatu(t) 1230 samasta-ra-
- 2 jāvali-pūrvva[ka\*]-pararma(ma)bhata(tta)-
- 3 raka-Mahārājādhirāja-pa-<sup>3</sup>
- 4 paramesva(śva)ra-śri-Somesva(śva)radeva
- 5 kalyāna-vijaya-raje(jye) na<sup>3</sup> ma

1 For some details see above, Vol. XXXVII, pt. VII, pp. 319-22

2 From ink impressions

3 This letter is redundant

- 6 hishu(pra)varddhama(mā)nena Udāira<sup>1</sup> sute-  
 7 na Alhanena prasadi<sup>2</sup> mamḍa-  
 8 paṁ(pah) jirnodhara(ddharaḥ) samudharitam<sup>3</sup>[||\*]  
 9 A(A)sā(sha)dha sudi 9 Chandra-dine  
 10 su(su)tradhara-[Ka]ladharadevaḥ ||

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1 Read *Udayarāja*

2 Read *Prāsāḍya*

3 Read *samuddhṛtaḥ*

## No. 9—PHULBĀNI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RANABHAÑJADĒVA, YEAR 28

(3 Plates)

*S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore*

The set of copper-plates edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was discovered at Phulbani in the Phulbani Tahsil in the district of the same name and is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubanēśvar. During my visit to Bhubanēśvar in April 1978, the Museum authorities were good enough to permit me to examine the plates and copy the same.<sup>1</sup>

The set consists of three oblong copper-plates, each measuring approximately 18.6 cm in length and 11.9 cm in breadth. They are strung together on a circular copper ring, the ends of which are soldered to the back of an oval seal. On the left side of the plate, there is a circular hole through which the ring passes. The inner side of the first plate and both sides of the remaining two plates contain writing. There are altogether fifty six lines of writing. The first plate contains thirteen lines of writing while each of the two sides of the second plate has eleven lines of writing. The first side of the third plate has twelve lines of writing whereas its second side contains nine lines of writing. The seal is about 5.5 cm in diameter and it bears comparison to similar seals of the plates of this king.<sup>2</sup> It has a knob-like projection at its top representing the sun, a crescent like symbol below it representing the moon, the legend reading *Śri Ranabhañjadēvasya* below the latter and the figure of a couchant bull facing proper right at the bottom. All these various designs are worked in.

The **characters** are Nāgari of the 10-11th century used in Kalinga and closely resemble those of the Phulbani copper-plates of the 9th year<sup>3</sup> and the Aīdā plates of the [50]th year<sup>4</sup> of the same ruler as also those of his Patna Museum plates of the 22nd year<sup>5</sup> and the Baudh plates of the 26th year.<sup>6</sup> Of the initial vowels, *a*, is used in lines 10, 14-15, 20, 36, 49, 51, *ā*, in lines 8, 38-39, *i* in lines 9, 10, 52, *u* in lines 16, 25, 46, 55 and *ē* in lines 37, 49. The vowel *ri* occurs once in line 27 though resulting in an orthographical error.

The **language** of the charter is Sanskrit and the composition is partly in verse and partly in prose. As is common to most of the Bhañja plates, there are many defects in spelling, grammar, etc. Of particular **orthographical** interest is the word *ātavisanti* (line 55), perhaps the result of local pronunciation of the Sanskrit word *ashtaviṃśati*.

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1 This has been noticed in *A.R..Ep.*, 1977-78 as No. A 18.

2 Above, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 257 ff; *JESI*, Vol. V, pp. 115 ff.

3 *JESI*, Vol. V, pp. 115 ff and plate.

4 Above, Vol XXXVII, pp. 257 ff.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 100 ff. and plate.

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 325 ff. and plate.

The date of the record is given as *vijaya rājya saṁvatsarē ātāvisanti*,<sup>1</sup> which as has been pointed out above, obviously stands for Sanskrit *aṣṭāvimśati*. The king is described as a *parama-vaishnava* and is endowed with the title *Rānaka* as in his other records.

The charter refers itself to the reign of *Rānaka* Raṇabhañjadēva, the son of Śatrubhañja and the grandson of Śilabhañja. It begins with the symbols for *siddham* and *ōm*. Then follow four verses (lines 1-10) which refer to Śilabhañja and his son Śatrubhañja. Then follows a prose passage (lines 10-13) in praise of a Bhañja king whose name, however, is not mentioned as in his other records. The record then mentions the city Dhṛtipura whence the grant seems to have been issued. In the subsequent prose passage (lines 14-18), *Rānaka* Raṇabhañjadēva is mentioned. He was born in Aṇḍaja-varṇśa, was a *parama-vaishnava* and was meditating at the feet of his parents. He is described as a *Bhañjāmalakula-tilaka* and the lord of Ubhaya Khiñjali. He obtained the title of *pañchamahāśabda* and was revered by his subordinates (*mahasāmanta*). Besides, he was blessed by the boon from Stambhēśvari. The record then recounts a list of officials of Khiñjali-maṇḍala to whom the royal order is addressed. In the royal decree (lines 22-30) that follows, it is stated that for the sake of the increase of the religious merit of his parents and himself the king made a grant of the village Vadhamaśara to *Bhaṭaputra* Trivikramanandi, the son of Kallunandi and grandson of Va[ma]nandi, belonging to the Krishṇ-Ātrēya-gotra, the three *pravaras* of Ātrēya, Archanānasa and Śyavaśva, and the Chhandōgya-charaṇa and Āruṇi-śākha. The gift-village is stated to be situated in Tulēśinga-vishaya and on the banks of the Mahanadi. Tulēśinga-vishaya figures also in the other Phulbani plates<sup>2</sup> of this king. The gift-village was granted along with the privileges *nidhi* and *upanidhi*. This is followed by the king's injunction (lines 30-33) to the effect that no one should cause even a slight hindrance in respect of the gift, obviously in its enjoyment by the donee. Lines 34-54 contain fifteen usual imprecatory verses. The date of the record, already discussed above, is given in line 55. Lines 55-56 state that the record was engraved by *vaṇika suvarṇakāra* Śivaṇāga, the son of Pāṇḍi. He is no doubt identical with his namesake who figures as the engraver in the Binkā,<sup>3</sup> Patna Museum<sup>4</sup>, Chakradharpur<sup>5</sup> and Baudh plates<sup>6</sup> of the same king. He in fact appears for the first time as engraver in the Sonpur plates of Śatrubhañja<sup>7</sup>, the father of Raṇabhañjadēva.

In the present charter Raṇabhañja is described as a *parama-vaishnava*. We know that in his Binkā (year 16)<sup>3</sup>, Patna Museum (year 22)<sup>4</sup>, Chakradharpur (year 24)<sup>5</sup>, Baudh<sup>6</sup> (year 26) plates also he is described as a *parama-vaishnava* while in his second Baudh plates (year

1 The word *visanti* is used in the sense of *vimśati* in the Patna Museum plates, Year 22 of the same king. *Ibid.*, Vol XX, p 104, lines 55-56

2 *JESI*, Vol V, pp 115 ff wherein the name of the *vishaya* is wrongly read as Kulasidga.

3 *JBORS*, Vol II, pp 173 ff

4 Above, Vol XX, pp 100 ff and plate

5 *Ibid.*, Vol VI, pp 269 ff

6 *Ibid.*, Vol XII, pp 325 ff

7 *Ibid.*, Vol, XI, pp 98 ff

54)<sup>1</sup> as also in his Jagati plates<sup>2</sup> of the same year he is described as *parama-māheśvara*. In this connection it may be pointed out that P.R. Srinivasan, while re-editing Raṇabhañja's Aida plates<sup>3</sup> re-interpreted the word *namamē* standing for Raṇabhañja's regnal year as standing for the year 50 according to the *kaṭapayādi* system on the basis that in his later years Raṇabhañja had become a *parama-māheśvara*. In this light the present charter dated in his 28th regnal year becomes the latest known record to describe Raṇabhañja as a *parama-vaishnava*.<sup>4</sup>

Of the **geographical** names occurring in this record, Dhṛitipura, Ubhaya-Khiñjali and Khiñjali-maṇḍala are already known from other records of the Bhañja family. Tulesingavishaya in which the grant village lies has been identified with Tutursingā in the Baudh P.S. in the district of Phulbani.<sup>5</sup> The gift-village Vāḍhamaśara is stated to have been situated on the banks of the river Mahānadi which is no doubt identical with the well-known river of that name flowing in Orissa. I am, however, unable to identify the gift-village.

#### TEXT<sup>6</sup>

[Verses 1-3 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 4 *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita* ; verses 5-18 *Anushtubh* ,  
verse 19 *Pushpitāgra*]

#### First Plate

- 1 Siddham<sup>7</sup> [||\*] ōm [||\*] Sasa<sup>8</sup> || Sa[r̥m\*]hāra-kāla-hutabhug-vikarāla-ghōra-sa[r̥m\*]bhrānta-kīnkara-kritānta-[nitānta\*]-bhi-
- 2 nnam(nnam) [l\*] bhinn=Āndhak-āsura-mahā-gahan-ātpa(tapa)tra[r̥m\*] |<sup>9</sup> tad-Bhairava[r̥m] Hara-vapur=bhavataḥ prapātuḥ(tu) || [l\*] Du-
- 3 rvvāra-vāraṇa-raṇa-prati-pakshi(ksha)-[vaksha\*]-lakshmi-haṭha-grahaṇa-suprasṛita-pratāpā[h̥l\*] Bhañja-nna(na)rādhi-
- 4 patayō va(ba)havō va(ba)bhu(bhū)vur=udbhu(dbhū)tayō=tra bhuva(vi)-bhu(bhū)ri-sahasra-sa(sam)khā(khyāḥ) || [2\*]<sup>10</sup> Tēśam kulē sakala-

1 Above, Vol. XII, pp. 322 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 322 ff.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 257 ff.

4 Applying the same *kaṭapayādi* reckoning, the date of Raṇabhañja's Phulbāni plates (*JESI*, Vol. V, pp. 115 ff.) which also mentions the year as *namamē* should be taken to belong to Raṇabhañja's 50th regnal year

5 *JESI*, Vol. V, p. 119.

6 From impressions.

7 Expressed by a symbol.

8 Read *Svaṣṭi*.

9 This *daṇḍā* is redundant.

10 The following two verses (Verses 3-4) are metrically defective.



- 5 bhu(bhū)ta[la\*]-pala-mauli(li)-mal-ārchchit-āmghri(ghri)-ju(yu)galō valavām  
nripō=<sup>1</sup> hu(bhū)t || (l)śri-Śilābhañja-
- 6 dēva[h\*] prakāṭa-pauruṣa-raśmi-chakra-ni[r\*]-dārit-āri-hṛidanṛi<sup>2</sup>yō=sya pitā  
nṛipa-
- 7 sya | (ll) [3\*] Gambhīryeṇa payōnidhi[h\*]<sup>3</sup> thi(sthi)rataya bhu(bhū)mi[h\*] va(ba)  
len=Ānila[h\*] te[jo\*]bhir=ya(jva)-
- 8 lanō='ryama[h\*] samatayā ||<sup>4</sup> śubhair=jja(ya)śōbhiś=śasī(śī) [l\*] ātmā sarvva-  
jaganamna<sup>5</sup>-
- 9 sthitatayā datt-āvakāśō viya[j\*]=jāta[h\*] ||<sup>4</sup> śri-Śatrubhañja ity=atula-dhih  
tasy=ātmaja[h]
- 10 Svayambhuvāt || [4\*] Anō(nyō)nya-mada-māna-milita-samuddhata-nṛipa-  
chaku(kra)-chaturaṅga-va(ba)la-kshō-
- 11 bha-chali(li)ta-dharā-maṇḍala-gaja-turaga-khura-nirddāraṇa-prasarad=atula=  
dhu(dhū)li-vitana-
- 12 sachchhanna-jany-aṅgaṇa-gaja-skandha-vēdikā-svayamvarāyāt | parinīta-ja[ya\*]  
lakshmī-sa-
- 13 mānandita-paura-jana-mānaś śrīmad-Bhañja-bhu(bhū)patiḥ purād=Dhṛitipura-  
nāmna<sup>5</sup>[h\*] | sa(śa)-

*Second Plate : First Side*

- 14 rad=amala-dhavalā-kara-yaśaḥ paṭala-dhavalita-dig=vadanō ||<sup>6</sup> anavara-
- 15 ta-pravṛita(tta)-sanmāna-dān-ā[na\*]ndita-sakala-janō Aṇḍaja-vaṇśa-prabhavaḥ  
pa-
- 16 rama-vaishṇava-mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta-Bhañj-āmala-kula-tilaka-U-
- 17 bhaya-Khiñjaly-ādhipati-samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śavda(bda)-mahāsāmanta-  
va-
- 18 ndita-Stambhēśvari-lavdha(bdha)-vara-prasāda-|<sup>7</sup> Rāṇaka-śrī-Raṇa[bha\*]ñja-  
dēva[h\*] kuśali[l\*]

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1 Read *balavān*=*nripō*=

2 This letter *nṛ* is redundant.

3 This *danda* is superfluous.

4 These *danḍas* are superfluous.

5 The letters *namna* form a metathetical error for -<sup>o</sup>*nmana*.

6 These *danḍas* are redundant.

7 This *danḍa* is superfluous.

PHULBĀNI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RAṆABHAṆJADĒVA,  
YEAR 28—PLATE I

i

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥  
 १ ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥  
 २ ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥  
 ३ ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥  
 ४ ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥  
 ५ ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥  
 ६ ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥  
 ७ ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥  
 ८ ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥  
 ९ ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥  
 १० ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥  
 ११ ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥  
 १२ ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥ राजा राणभानजदेवः ॥



- 19 ih=aiva Khiñjali-maṇḍalē bhaviśhyad-rāja-rājanak-āntaraṅgara-<sup>1</sup>  
 20 kumāra(rā)mātya-mahāsāmanta-[bra\*]hmaṇa-pradhāna[n\*]- ana(nyām)ś=cha  
 daṇḍapā-  
 21 śika-chāṭa-bhā(bha)ṭa-vallabha-jitin<sup>2</sup> ||<sup>3</sup> yath=ārhi(rham) mānayati vō(bō)dhayati  
 22 samādiśayati<sup>4</sup> ch-ānyat || sarvvataḥ si(śi)vam=asmākaṁ | vīditam=astu  
 23 bhavataḥ(tām) | Tulēśiṅga-vishaya-prativa(ba)ddhah Mahānadi-vimala-jala-vi(vi)-  
 24 ji(chi)-prakṣhālita-taṭa-Vādhamaśārā-grāma[h\*] chatu(tuḥ) ||<sup>5</sup> sīmā-prayanta[h\*]  
 nidhy-u-

*Second Plate : Second Side*

- 25 <sup>6</sup>upanidhi-sahita[h\*] māta-pitrōya(r=ā)tmaja(na)ś=cha puny-ābhivṛddhaye  
 sali[la\*]-dha-  
 26 rāḥ(rā)-puraḥ sareṇa vidhinā || Kṛiṣṇ-Ātrēya-gotrāya sa(Ā)trēya-Ārchanana[sa\*]-  
 27 Śavaśa-<sup>7</sup>trīarīsayā-<sup>8</sup>pravaraṇa Chhāndōga(gya)-[cha\*]rā(rā)nāya(y=Ā)[ru\*]ṇi  
 śakha(kha)[ya\*] chatuvdē<sup>9</sup>  
 28 <sup>10</sup>vinirggataḥ(tāya) ||<sup>11</sup> Bhataputra-Tri(Tri)vikramanandi-Kallunandi-suta-Va<sup>12</sup>  
 nandi-  
 29<sup>1</sup> naptrē ||<sup>11</sup> vidhi-vidhanena sa-vindha(dhe)ya(yam) tamvra-śasana[h\*] pratipadito=  
 30 ya(yam) | Pāra(ram)parya-kul-avatāreṇa yavad=ved-artha-vachanena yathā  
 31 kāṇḍa kāṇḍaḥ prarōhati || śasanena pratimasi sahasreṇa  
 32 virōhasi ēvaṁ<sup>13</sup> vu(bu)ddhva parārdhāñ=cha parato vaṁś-avatāreṇa(ṇ=ā)  
 py=asmad=anurōdha(dhā)-

1 Better read *āntaraṅgika*.

2 Read *jātiyān*.

3 These *dandas* are redundant.

4 Read *samādiśati*.

5 These *dandas* are superfluous.

6 This letter *u* is redundant.

7 Read *Śyāvāśva*.

8 Read *try-ārshēya*.

9 The intended reading seems to be *chatur=vvēda-vide*.

10 The name of the village from which the donee emigrated is not given

11 This *danda* is redundant.

12 One letter, probably *ma*, should have followed and the space has been left blank by the engraver.

13 The subject matter in line 31 and upto the word *ēvaṁ* should be read properly as follows :

<sup>o</sup>Kāṇḍāt-kāṇḍāt-prarōhamti / ya śatēna pratanoshī sahasrēna virōhasi=ty=ēvaṁ

- 33 d=dharma-gauravā[ch\*]=cha na kēnachisma(t=sva)-lā(lp=ā)pi va(bā)dhā karaniyā  
|| Tatha ch = oktaṁ
- 34 dharmma=śastreshu [l\*] Phala-kriṣṭā(shṭām) mahi(him) dadyā[t\*] sa-  
vi(bi)ja(jām) sasya-mēdini[m\*] || (l) yāva[t\*]
- 35 su(sū)rya-kṛitaloke(kah) tāva[t\*] svargga(rggē) mahiyatōh(tē) | [l5\*] Vēda-vākya-  
smayo<sup>1</sup> jihvā

*Third Plate : First Side*

- 36 vadanti rshi(rishi)-devataḥ [l\*] bhu(bhū)mi-harttā tath=ānyā(nyach=)cha ahō mā  
hara ma hara [ll6\*] Ya-
- 37 th=apsu patitam Śakra tē(tai)la-vi(bi)ndu viśa(sa)rppati || (l) ēva(varṇ) bhu(bhū)mi-  
kṛitaṁ danam sasye
- 38 sasye prarohati || [7\*] Ādityō Varuṇō Vishṇu[h] Vra(Bra)hmā Sōma(mō)  
Hutaśanah | Su(Śu)la-
- 39 paṇi(ni)su(s=tu) Bhagavam<sup>2</sup> abhinandanti bhu(bhū)mida(dam) | [l 8\*] Āsphōtayanti  
pitarah pravalga-
- 40 nti pitamahā[h\*] || (l) bhu(bhu) mi-data kule jātā(tah) sa mē trā[ta\*] bhavishyati  
[ll\*9]
- 41 r=vva(Ba) hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājā(ja) nōh(bhih) Sagar-ādibhi[h\*] | mā  
bhu(bhū) d=aphala-
- 42 sa(śam)kā ya(vah) pa[ra-\*]datē(ttē)shu pālitaṁ(tē) ||<sup>3</sup> Yasya yasya yadā  
bhu(bhū)mi[h\*] tasya
- 43 tasya tadā pa(pha)la[m\*] [ll10\*] Sa(Sva)-data(ttām) para-data(ttām) vā yō harē[ta\*]  
dva(va)sundhara[m] || (l) sa viśṭhāyā(yām)
- 44 kṛimir=bhu(bhū)tva pitribhi[h\*] saha pachyatē | [l 11\*] Hirāṇyam=ekam  
ga[m=ekam] bhu(bhū)mi(me)ma(r=a)py=arddham=aṅgu-
- 45 la[m\*] | harana(n=na)[ra\*]kam=āyati yāvad=ādhu(hū)ti(ta)-samplavaḥ(vam) |  
[l 12\*] Bhu(Bhū)mi(mim) yah pratigrihṇāti
- 46 yachchha(ś=cha) bhu(bhū)mim prayachchhati | ubhau tau puna(nya)-ka[r\*]  
mmanau niyatau(tam) svargga-gāminau[ll 13\*]

1 Read *Vedavāk-smṛtayō*

2 Read *Bhagavān*

3 This half of the verse inserted here by mistake belongs to another verse of which the other half, viz. *Svadattāt=phalam=ānantyam paradatt=ānupālānē* has been omitted. In its place should have come the following half of the verse beginning with *yasya*

PHULBĀNI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RAṆABHAÑJADĒVA,  
YEAR 28—PLATE III

**iii a**

36 कथं विधिं यत्नं रुमिदं कथं वा वाच्यं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं  
 38 यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं  
 40 यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं  
 42 यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं  
 44 यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं  
 46 यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं यत्नं

48	ॐ ह्रीं स्वस्त्या ह्रीं पुस्त्या ह्रीं मा पातवः कस्त्या ह्रीं नृस्त्या ह्रीं मस्त्या ह्रीं स्त्या ह्रीं	48
50	ह्रीं नृस्त्या ह्रीं मस्त्या ह्रीं स्त्या ह्रीं ह्रीं नृस्त्या ह्रीं मस्त्या ह्रीं स्त्या ह्रीं ह्रीं नृस्त्या ह्रीं मस्त्या ह्रीं स्त्या ह्रीं	50
52	ह्रीं नृस्त्या ह्रीं मस्त्या ह्रीं स्त्या ह्रीं ह्रीं नृस्त्या ह्रीं मस्त्या ह्रीं स्त्या ह्रीं ह्रीं नृस्त्या ह्रीं मस्त्या ह्रीं स्त्या ह्रीं	52
54	ह्रीं नृस्त्या ह्रीं मस्त्या ह्रीं स्त्या ह्रीं ह्रीं नृस्त्या ह्रीं मस्त्या ह्रीं स्त्या ह्रीं ह्रीं नृस्त्या ह्रीं मस्त्या ह्रीं स्त्या ह्रीं	54
56	ह्रीं नृस्त्या ह्रीं मस्त्या ह्रीं स्त्या ह्रीं ह्रीं नृस्त्या ह्रीं मस्त्या ह्रीं स्त्या ह्रीं ह्रीं नृस्त्या ह्रीं मस्त्या ह्रीं स्त्या ह्रीं	56

SEAL



- 47 Haratē harayatē bhu(bhū)mim manda-vu(bu)ddhis=tamā(mō)-vṛita[h̥ l\*] sa  
va(ba)ddhō vārunaiḥ paśai[h̥\*]

*Third Plate : Second Side*

- 48 śai<sup>1</sup> tiryā[g\*]-yōnishu jāyatē || [14\*] Mā pārthivah(va) kadāchitaṁ(t-tvaṁ)  
vra(bra)hmasvaṁ manasā da(ha)-
- 49 pi(ra) anaūshadham<sup>2</sup> abhaisharjya(jyaṁ) etat ha(ha)lāhala[m\*] visha[m](sham) ||  
[15\*] Avishaṁ visham=ity=ā-
- 50 hu[h̥\*]<sup>3</sup> vra(bra)hmasvaṁ putra-pautrikaṁ(kam) || [16\*] Lōha-chu(chū)ṇṇā(rṇṇ-  
ā)sama(śma)-chu(chū)rṇṇañ=cha vishañ=cha jarayē[n\*]-naraḥ | vra(bra)-
- 51 hmasvaṁ trishu lōkēshu kaḥ pumā[n\*] jva(ja)rami(yi)shyati | [17\*] Vājapēya-  
sahasrāṇi aśva-
- 52 mēdha-śatāni cha || (l) gavā(vām) kōṭē(ti)-prada(dā)ttē(nē)na bhu(bhū)mi-harttā na  
su(śu)dhyati | [18\*] Iti ka-
- 53 mala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlā(lām) śrī(śrī)yam=anuchintya [manu\*]sya  
(shya)-jivitañ=cha [l\*] saka-
- 54 lam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)dhaiḥ(dhvā) na hi purushaiḥ para-ki(ki)rttayō  
vilōpyā [h̥ || 19\*]
- 55 Vijaya-rājya-samvasa(tsa)rē ātāvisanti<sup>4</sup> variśē<sup>5</sup> uktinañcha<sup>6</sup> vaṇi-
- 56 ka-suvarṇnakāra .Si(Śi)vaṇāga-Pāṇḍi-suta<sup>7</sup> [l\*] lā(lām)chhita(taṁ) mahārājaki  
[ya\*]-mudrēṇati<sup>8</sup> [l\*]

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1 This letter is redundant.

2 Read *anaushadham*

3 The engraver here has omitted the second and third quarters of the verse viz., *brahmasvam visham=uchyatē / visham=ekākinam hanti*.

4 Read *ashtāvimśati*.

5 Read *varshe*.

6 Read *utkrṇṇañ=cha*.

7 Read *sutēna*.

8 Read *mudray=ēti*.



## No. 10— ON A MAHĀSĒNĀPATI SEALING FROM ADAM

(1 Plate)

*Amarendra Nath, Nagpur*

Majority of clay sealings discovered in the course of excavations at Adam,<sup>1</sup>Kuhi Taluk, Nagpur District, are of miscellaneous nature; however, a few of them have been classified as 'royal issues'. These issues have affinity with the little known rulers of the Deccan of the early historical period. Of these, one sealing reported from the site is ascribable to Sebaka and another one to Śalankāyana.<sup>2</sup> The third in the series, issued by a *Mahāsenāpati*,<sup>3</sup> forms the subject matter of the present article. It bears registration No. 2291, and was unearthed from layer two of trench No. YA 6/2.

Of pale brown colour, the near oval-shaped (2.6 x 2.4 cm) clay lump is in a good state of preservation, but unevenly finished. The upper face of the lump shows some cracks on the edges which are formed due to the gentle pressure applied in the course of stamping of the seal. But none of these cracks have caused any damage to the contents of the legend it bears. There are finger marks on the unevenly bulged sides, while the back portion has intersected bamboo-chip mark. Such impressions on the back generally demonstrate that the particular sealing was affixed to some consignment or document as a proprietary or copyright mark in order to protect the interest of the issuer, and minimise the chances of pilferage in transit. Those sealings noted without such marks at the back were votive or extramundane in nature. Turning to the upper plain of the sealing it is seen that the beaded flan of the circular incuse (dia. 1.6 cm) bears twelve early Brāhmī characters distributed inwardly. The legend in Prakrit starts clockwise at XII and terminates at XI. It reads : *Mahāsenāpatisa Janesirisa i.e.*, (this sealing is) of the *Mahāsenāpati Janaśri* (Pl. 1).<sup>4</sup> The characters, uniformly sized to 3 mm square, are of nail-headed variety and are spaced at an interval of 1-1/2 mm. In the formation of the legend *na* and *sa* figure more than once. Incidentally, the looped variety of *ta* is typical to the Ikshvāku style while the rest of the characters give the impression of Sātavāhana palaeography of the second century A.D. The medial sign *ā* occurs uniformly, while the strokes for *i* show variations specially when compared with *si* and *ri*.

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1 The site has been identified as Asika Janapada, See Amarendra Nath, 'Toponym of Asika and Asaka, *Indica*, Vol. XXVII, Bombay, 1990, pp. 87-96.

2 Amarendra Nath, 'Yet another reference to Śalankāyana', *Artibus Asiae*, Ascona (under publication, Vol. 51).

3 *Macron* over *e* and *o* is not used in this article.

4 The author is thankful to Prof. Ajay Mitra Sastri, Head of the Ancient Indian History and Culture Department, Nagpur University for suggesting the Sanskrit form of Janesiri.

ON A MAHĀSĒNĀPATI SEALING FROM ADAM



ON MAHĀSĒNĀPATI SEALING FROM ADAM



*K. V. Ramesh*

*Ep Ind, Vol. XLII*

Encircled by the legend, the sealing bears three auspicious symbols viz., (i) a twelve spoked *chakra* in the upper field, (ii) squatting to right a *vrishabha* in the centre, and (iii) *śaṅkha* in the lower field. Other than the *chakra*, the remaining two symbols are feeble. These symbols are perhaps indicative of the religio-political status of *Mahāsenāpati* Janaśrī. Traditionally, as we know, the *chakra* and *śaṅkha* are attributes of lord Viṣṇu, while *vrishabha* is a *vahana* of lord Śiva. Subsequently these symbols, however, were inherited by the Buddhists and Jains to meet their extramundane requirements.

Having described the sealing at length, finally the question arises of placing the issuer in historical perspective. Traditionally *mahāsenapati* (great chief of the army, i.e., general) is a synonym of Skanda-Karttikeya. Some epigraphical sources help us in drawing the analogy. Ikshvāku inscriptions refer to Virupakṣapati-mahāsena-*parigahitasa*.<sup>1</sup> Further, in Kadamba inscriptions there is a reference to *Kadamba-mahāsenapati-pratimah*,<sup>2</sup> an obvious reference to Skanda-Karttikeya. However, in the historical context *mahāsenapati* denoted feudatory chieftains in charge of small territories. This is corroborated by the Vijayagadh inscription referring to a *maharaja-mahāsenapati* who had been raised to the status of a leader by the Yaudhēya-gaṇa.<sup>3</sup> Even some kings like Paushyamitra Śunga,<sup>4</sup> Bhatarka,<sup>5</sup> the founder of the Valabhi dynasty and his son Dharasena<sup>6</sup> preferred to be designated as *senapati*. A sealing of Rudramagha of the Magha dynasty of Central India bears the legend : *Mahāsenāpatīsyā Rudramaghasya*.<sup>7</sup> Another Magha ruler Bhardrabala is also known by this title.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand in Pala<sup>9</sup> and Eastern Chalukya<sup>10</sup> epigraphs *senapati* has been used to denote official designation. Likewise, the grant of Śrichandra also uses this term to indicate official designation.<sup>11</sup>

The foregoing survey reveals that the title under discussion was used in three different contexts, viz. (a) as synonym to Skanda-Karttikeya, (b) as an epithet prefixed to a chieftain or a ruler and, (c) as an official designation. The sealing in question falls under the second category. Now it becomes necessary to explore the possible region from where it originated. Let us examine the context in which it was discovered. As noted above it was retrieved from

- 1 J.Ph. Vogel, "Prakrit Inscriptions from the Buddhist site at Nāgārjūnakoṇḍa", Above, Vol. XX, pp 19-21
- 2 V.S. Sukthankar, "Two Kadamba grants from Sīrsī", Above, Vol. XVI, p. 266
- 3 J.F. Fleet, "Bijayagadh Stone inscriptions of the Yaudhēyas", *CII*, Vol. III, No. 58, pp. 251-52
- 4 D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, Delhi (reprint), 1986, p. 95
- 5 J.F. Fleet *CII*, Vol. III, No. 38, p. 165, lines 2-3, also see A.S. Gadre, "Two valuable grants from Mota Machhala", Above, Vol. XXXI, 1952, p. 302, line 2
- 6 *Ibid.*, line 4, in each case, respectively.
- 7 V.S. Agrawala, "Clay Sealings from Rajghat", *JNSI*, Vol. 23, 1961, p. 412. Some scholars have tried to read the legend as *Mahāsenāputrasya Rudramaghasya*, see Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, Lucknow, 1972, p. 38, fn. 3
- 8 N.P. Chakravarti, "Brāhmi Inscriptions from Bandhogarh", Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 185
- 9 F. Kielhorn, "Khalimpur plate of Dharmapālādēva", Above, Vol. IV, p. 253
- 10 F. Kielhorn, "Nandampūṇḍi grant of Rājārāja I, dated in his thirty-second year", *Ibid.*, p. 302.
- 11 D.C. Sircar, "Dhulla plate of Śrichandra", Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 139

layer two which yielded maximum number of coins attributed to Mahārāṭhi, a subordinate ruler of the later Sātavahana period. Incidentally, Mahāsenāpatis were also semi-independent officials governing under the later Sātavahanas. Hence to presume its origin within the later Sātavahana territory may not sound unreasonable. But no direct evidence has been encountered in any of the primary or secondary sources which could associate Janesiri with any of the known *mahāsenāpatis* of the Deccan. However, the latter part of the name i.e., *siri* reminds us of the names of the *Mahāsenāpatis* figuring in the Ikshvāku inscriptions, viz., Maha-Kamdasiri (Maha-Skandaśrī) and Venṇusiri (Vishṇuśrī).<sup>1</sup> Even some of the Ikshvāku names like Bapisiri, Chathisiri, Chantisiri and Hammasiri had identical endings.<sup>2</sup> We may, therefore, tentatively conclude that Mahāsenāpati Janaśrī, known from the excavation at Adam, was a native of the Andhra region since names of Mahāsenāpatis ending with *siri* were more heard of in the lower Krishna valley than in other parts of the Deccan.

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1 J. Ph. Vogel, *op cit.*, pp. 4, 5, 19-21.

2 D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Satavahanas in Lower Deccan*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 22.

## No. 11—GUNTUPALLI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF ŚĀLAṆKĀYANA NANDIVARMAN

(1 Plate)

S. Sankaranarayanan, Madras

Guntupalli (a hamlet of the village Jilakarragudem, in the Chintalapudi Taluk, West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh) and its Buddhist site and epigraphs are fairly well known to the scholars through the writings of Robert Sewell,<sup>1</sup> Alexander Rea,<sup>2</sup> A. Longhurst,<sup>3</sup> R. Subramanyam,<sup>4</sup> D.C. Sircar<sup>5</sup>, I. Karthikeya Sarma<sup>6</sup> P.R. Srinivasan<sup>7</sup> and the present writer<sup>8</sup> too. The subjoined inscription was discovered along with other early epigraphs by I.K. Sharma in 1976 and it has been illustrated twice<sup>9</sup> and has been registered as B 44 of A.R. Ep. 1977-78. But the text of the record still remains unpublished and its contents are yet to be examined thoroughly. Hence, I requested Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, for a photograph of the record for my study. However, being a scholar of liberal outlook, Dr. K.V. Ramesh gave me both a good inked impression and a good photograph of an estampage and advised me to edit it in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*. I thank Dr. Ramesh for giving me this honour. I learn that the estampages of the record have been prepared by the Epigraphist Office under the able supervision of Dr. M.D. Sampath, Superintending Epigraphist of that office.

The present epigraph is engraved on what is said to be a big quadrangled pillar, discovered near the caves (*stupa* site) in the monastery area at Guntupalli. It consists of twenty three lines incised on one of the sides of the pillar just below a Brāhmī inscription of the first century A.D., that had already been edited by scholars.<sup>10</sup> The passage of centuries has been very unkind only to our epigraph. Hence, none of the lines of it is fully preserved. That is to say, the right end of the record is broken off and lost. However, it is possible to

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1 R. Sewell, 'Buddhist Remains at Guntupalli' in J.R.A.S. (G.B. & I), Vol. XIX (1887), pp 508-11

2 A. Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities : Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series*, No. XV, Madras, 1894.

3 A.H. Longhurst, 'The Buddhist Monuments at Guntupalli in Krishna District' in A.R.A.Sc., 1916-17, pp 30-35 In those days Guntupalli was included in the Krishna district

4 The Guntupalli Brāhmī Inscription of Khāravēla, A.P.G.A.S. No. 3(1968) and plates

5 J.A.I.H., Vol. III (1969-70), pp. 30 ff. and plate.

6 "Epigraphical Discoveries at Guntupalli", J.E.S.I., Vol. V (Mysore, 1976), pp 48 ff. and plates.

7 "Some Brāhmī Inscriptions from Guntupalli" Above, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 274 ff. and plates

8 'Guntupalli Pillar Inscriptions of Sini Sada,' S.V.U.O.J., Vol. XIX (Tirupati, 1976), pp 53 ff and plate

9 I.e., by Dr. I.K. Sarma and by Sri P.R. Srinivasan Of their facsimiles the one given by the former is good

10 See notes 6 and 7 above.

have a fairly correct idea of what has been lost. The estampage available with me contains also the impression of the above mentioned early inscription. On the basis of the length of the lines of this epigraph, it is possible to surmise that the length of the lines of our present inscription must have been originally 38 cm. even though now it is shorter. That is to say, a portion of two cm in length has been broken off and lost at the end of lines 1-4, resulting in the loss of two or three letters in each of these lines. The loss of letters at the end of lines is progressively more in the subsequent lines. Consequently the length of the last two lines is only 22 cm., 14 or 15 letters being lost at their ends. Again, from the tenth line onwards one or two letters are chipped off and lost also in the beginnings of the lines. Further, from the same line downwards the right half of the extant portion and also the major portions of lines 18-20 are very much effaced. Thus, the present record is lamentably very fragmentary. Yet, one may feel happy that nothing has been lost above or below the extant portion. Therefore, it is certain that the record contained only 23 lines occupying an area of 38 cm (in width) by 61 cm (in height) on one of the four sides of the pillar, individual lines containing about 23 to 25 *aksharas* each. Thus the extent or volume of the original text seems to have been around 24 or 25 *granthas*.<sup>1</sup>

The **characters** of the record belong to what the epigraphists usually label as the box-headed type of the Southern Class of Brahmi. They are assignable to a period that intervened the time of the Nagarjunakonda Pillar inscription of the Ikshvāku king Rudrapurushadatta<sup>2</sup> (last part of the third century A.D.) on the one hand and the Vēlpuru Pillar inscription of Vishnukundi Madhavavarman<sup>3</sup> (last quarter of the fifth century). And they are exactly the same as those found on the Peda-Vegi plates of Nandivarman II.<sup>4</sup> who, as we shall see a little later, issued the present record also. In fact the alphabets of both these records stand favourable comparison with those of the Vala inscription of Bhōja Sukētavarman dated in Śaka 322<sup>5</sup> (400 A.D.). However, the box-heads of the letters in the present record are less conspicuous than those found in the Vala epigraph. The engraving in our record is so clear and beautiful that even in its pitifully fragmentary condition, the epigraph stands witness to the great care the engraver had taken in executing his work.

The **language** of the text of the record is simple, but elegant Sanskrit prose marked with a small dose of *ojas* (*samasa-bhuyastva*, 'richness of compounds'). The prose text of the main part of the grant is followed by four benedictory and imprecatory verses, all in

1 A *grantha* is a unit of 32 *aksharas* or the extent of one verse in *Anushtubh*. Thus our present record proves to be the lengthiest of the known records of the Śālikāyanas. For, the volume of the texts of other known records of the dynasty seems never to exceed 12 or 15 *granthas*.

2 Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 22 ff. and plate.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 125 ff. and plate. See also S. Sankaranarayanan, *The Vishnukundis and Their Times* (VII) (Delhi, 1977), p. 13.

4 *JAHRS*, Vol. I, pt. 2, plates between pp. 94-95.

5 Above, Vol. XI, plate facing p. 53.

*Anuṣṭubh*. The composition is clear and the expressions are direct.. We find here no abnormal compounds, obscuring the idea which the author wanted to convey. Thus, like the engraver, the composer of the record has also done his job satisfactorily.

With regard to the **language** of the record we have to bear in mind two more important points—one is particular in nature and the other, general. Coming to the former point it may be noted that the tempo of the language and the format of the text of our record very closely correspond to the those of the known Sanskrit copper-plate charters of the Śāṅkayana kings. Hence, one is tempted to conclude that the present stone-inscription must be a verbatim copy of a *rājaśāsana* or royal copper-plate charter issued by Nandivarman II in favour of the donees (i.e., the monks of the Buddhist monastery as we shall see soon); and that these donees got the original *rājaśāsana* copied on a pillar in the monastery of theirs, obviously with a view to preserve the royal order in a more stable and durable medium, as the copper-plates are likely to be lost. This conclusion gets support from the record itself speaking of a charter issued by the king (*paṭṭikā dattā*) as is the case in all the copper-plate charters of the family. Stone-inscriptions being copies of *rājaśāsanas* or copper plate charters is not new to Indian epigraphy. For the earlier age we have the example of the Nāsik cave inscriptions of the Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, dated in his regnal years 18 and 24 (1st century A.D.) which are copies of the original *rājaśāsana*, which are spoken of in those inscriptions themselves as *paṭṭikā*<sup>1</sup> and *nibhandha*.<sup>2</sup> Coming to the later age too we have instances like the Konnūr Paramēśvara temple inscription of Rāshtrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I, dated Śāka 782 (860 A.D.) claiming to be a copy of the king's copper-plate charter.<sup>3</sup>

Regarding the second and general aspect of the language of our record, we may bear in mind an important fact. As we shall see soon, the record under study belongs to the time of the Śāṅkayana king Nandivarman II, i.e., the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. It was exactly during his time that Sanskrit replaced Prakrit once for all in the field of epigraphy in coastal Andhra in particular and in South India in general. It is noteworthy that all the known charters of Nandivarman II and the charter of his successor Skandavarman are in Sanskrit only (see below). All the charters of the predecessor of Nandivarman II including the Dhārikāṭūra grant<sup>4</sup> of Nandivarman's father Achaṇḍavarman (the only record of his known so far) are in Prakrit. No doubt Sanskrit had appeared in a few inscriptions of the time

1 I.e., as in our present record. See above, Vol. VIII, p. 71, text line 6.

2 I.e., as in the Dharmaśāstras. See *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 73, text line 12. See also D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* (Delhi, 1965), pp. 108-09.

3 See above, Vol. VI, pp. 25 ff; particularly p. 29, para. 2. cf. *tāmra-śāsanam nōḍi bareyisim*, *ibid.*, p. 34, text line 34. One finds it difficult to completely agree with the view that this Rāshtrakūṭa record is a spurious one. cf., *ibid.*, p. 27.

4 Above, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 1 ff., and plates.



of the Ikshvākus of the Guṇṭūr region<sup>1</sup> (3rd century A.D.). Yet, undoubtedly it was Prakrit that was employed in the very vast majority of the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus and of those who succeeded them in coastal Andhra viz., the Bṛihatphalāyanas, the Ānandas, the Early Pallavas and the Śālaṅkāyanas, till the time of Nandivarman II.

This process of changing from Prakrit completely over to Sanskrit started in North India a little earlier, i.e., during the time of Samudragupta, who is generally viewed<sup>2</sup> as a contemporary of Hastivarman Śālaṅkāyana, the great-grandfather of Nandivarman II, the issuer of the present charter. Now, if one chooses to compare the elegant poetic language of the Sanskrit inscriptions of the early Guptas, like the Allahabad *Praśasti*,<sup>3</sup> etc., on the one hand and the colourless prose of the Prakrit records of the last phase of the Prakrit age, such as the Hirahāḍaḡalli<sup>4</sup> and Mayidavolu<sup>5</sup> charters of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, the Bāsim plates of Vakāṭaka Vindhyaśakti,<sup>6</sup> etc., on the other, one cannot easily escape the conclusion that it was the ardent desire for poetry on the part of the kings of the age and of their favourite court poets that must have been mainly responsible for this change-over in medium.<sup>7</sup> May be the poetic genius of Prakrit, the fragrance of which one enjoys in the Nāsik inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas, mentioned above, somehow decayed during the age of their immediate successors.

Now, because the Prakrit epigraphs gave way once for all to Sanskrit inscriptions in coastal Andhra in the South, during Nandivarman's time, it will be beneficial if we could pay a little more attention, than we usually do in studying epigraphs, to the literary and poetic aspect of the language of the present record. This we will do while studying the contents of the record. Indeed the simple but elegant style of the language of our record seems to supply to the students of the history of Sanskrit prose-poetry style and rhetoric, a useful connecting link between the fourth century A.D. in the North and the less picturesque but beautiful style of the Vishnukunḍi inscriptions of the 5th-6th centuries in coastal Andhra, a style which was followed the strikingly florid style of the Sanskrit epigraphs of the Pallavas and the Chalukyas of the South in the 6th-7th centuries.

The **orthographical** peculiarities found in our record are the following : The medial *i* and *ī* are not always distinguished. Of the consonants preceding *r*, *m* alone (not other

1 See for example the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Sanskrit inscriptions of Eḥavala Chantamula : Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 149; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 19 ff, Vol. XXXV, pp. 12 ff.

2 *The Classical Age (CA): Hist. and Culture of Ind. People (HICP)*, (ed. R.C. Majumdar, etc.), (1962), p. 204; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India (HSI)* (II ed., 1988), p. 105.

3 Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions (FGI)*, pp. 6 ff.

4 Above, Vol. I, pp. 1, ff.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 84 ff.

6 *CII.*, Vol. V, pp. 96 ff.

7 Another factor might have been also the precision the Sanskrit language had already attained over and above Prakrit. That was perhaps one of the reasons why the Buddhist writers, logicians and theologians too step by step had switched over to Sanskrit in their writing abandoning Pāli and Prakrit, preferred by the earlier Buddhists.

consonants) is doubled as in *tāmmra* (line 1).<sup>1</sup> All the consonants, following *r*, including *sh* (see *varshshinō*, line 12) and *varshsha* (line 21) are doubled.<sup>2</sup> The *parasavarṇa* rules (the rules of homogeneity) governing the euphonic conjunction of *anusvāra* with the next consonant are observed correctly not only within the unit words like *Vēṅgi* (line 1), *chaṇḍa-daṇḍa* (line 7), etc., but also at the end of the words (*padānta*) as in *paran=dānan=na bhūtan=na* (line 22), according to the rules.<sup>3</sup> The *upadhmāniya* is employed in *sandhi* in —*pādabhakṭaḥ=parama-* (line 8); and palatal *ś* is preferred to *visarga* in the *sandhis* like—*yaśāś-śarirasya* (line 2) and—*bhāgavataś=Śālāṅkāyana-* (line 8).

The text also contains some words of **lexical interest** like *bhagavat-Tāmmra* (line 1), “the god of rising Sun with coppery red colour”; *karmman* (line 2) “object or result of an action”; *mahārāja* (line 3) “god Kubera”; *rasa* (line 3) “desire, craving”; *daśabala* (line 10) “ten-fold power”; *akshullaka* (line 12) “great”; *shashthēndriya* (line 11) “the sixth or internal organ, mind”.

The present epigraph refers itself to the reign of the Śālāṅkāyana king Nandivarman II and it contains his royal edict issued from the victorious city (capital) of Vēṅgi. The **object** of the edict was to grant a village or lands in a village, with certain privileges and immunities, in favour of the inmates of the Buddhist monastery, i.e., the one at Guṇṭupalli, from the site of which the present pillar inscription comes. The edict seems to be dated in the king’s fourth regnal year mentioned as *saṁ 4* standing for *saṁvatsarē chaturthē*. The year four is expressed by a *ta*-like symbol with two antennae. What we have here may represent, a stage in the evolution of *ka*-with two antennae, developing into *pta* and *pka* all standing for 4.<sup>4</sup> Again, what we are inclined to read as *saṁ* before 4 looks more or less like a symbol for 40, occurring elsewhere in epigraphs.<sup>5</sup> Hence, it is even probable that the epigraph is dated in the 44th year of the king.

The Śālāṅkāyana king Nandivarman II is already known to us from his own two copper-plate charters, viz., the Kollēru (Kolair) plates of year 7<sup>6</sup> and the Peda-Vēgi plates of year 10.<sup>7</sup> The chronological scheme of the Śālāṅkāyana kings, as worked out last by D.C. Sircar, while editing the Dhārikāṭūra grant, assigns this Nandivarman II to c. 400-30 A.D.,<sup>8</sup> and the palaeography of our present record goes well with that date.

1 But see also note under the word in the text. The doubling of this type is optional. See the grammatical rule *an-achicha* (PA, 8.4.47).

2 I.e., as per the rule *achō ra-hābhyām dvē* (PA, 8.4.46). But this is also an optional rule.

3 I.e., *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ* and *vā padāntasya* (PA, 8.4.58-59).

4 See, the symbols for 4 in G.H. Ojha, *Palaeography of India* (Rpt. 1971), plate LXXI(A).

5 cf. *ibid.*, plate LXXIII(A), symbol for 40.

6 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 175 ff. and plates.

7 *Op.cit.*

8 Above, Vol. XXXVI, p. 4. Probably this is the last attempt of D.C. Sircar to reconstruct the Śālāṅkāyana chronology.

We have suggested above that the epigraph must have been a copy of a *rājaśāsana* or a royal copper-plate charter. Hence, just as in the case of the copper-plate charters in general, the contents of the present record also fall into three sections, namely (1) the preamble (lines 1-9), (2) the royal decree proper (lines 10-29); and (3) the conclusion (lines 20-23). Here the preamble commences with the auspicious word *Svasti* (Hail), and it is followed by the reference to the place of issue of the charter, viz., the victorious city *Vengipura*. The students of South Indian history and epigraphy are aware that all the copper-plate charters of the Śālaṅkāyana kings had been issued from the same city which was their royal capital and is the same as the modern Peda-Vēgi near Ellore (also written *Ēlūru*) in the West Godavari District. Then the preamble introduces the ruling monarch Nandivarman II as the great-grandson of Hastivarman (line 4), as the grandson of Nandivarman I (line 5) and as the son of Achaṇḍavarman (line 7). The author describes Nandivarman II and his three predecessors by employing three or more epithets for each. Here it may be observed that all these epithets are conventional in nature and none of them speaks of any specific political or military achievements of any of these kings. Yet, they are, as we shall see presently, unique in their own way. It is obvious that the author of our record preferred to remain as a poet rather than to act as a chronicler. Hence, to do justice to this early Sanskrit epigraph of South India is to evaluate it first as a literary piece.

The preamble describes Hastivarman in lines 1-4. Though the first two *aksharas* of his name are lost at the end of fourth line, it is not difficult to restore them with the help of the already known charters of Nandivarman II, mentioned above. Hastivarman's first epithet describes him, by means of a double dose of metaphor, as the very Moon, shining on the clear sky of the family of Śālaṅka. From the *gaṇasūtra* of Pāṇini under his rule 4.1.99,<sup>1</sup> we could surmise that Śālaṅka must have been the sage-founder of the *gōtra* Śālaṅkāyana. This *gōtra*-name is found as an adjective of the donor monarchs invariably in all the Śālaṅkāyana charters including the present one. And we have actually the expression *Śālaṅkāyana-sagōttō* (=Skt. *Śālaṅkāyana-sagōtraḥ*) as an epithet of Achaṇḍavarman.<sup>2</sup> The present charter is the only record to give us the stem of the said derivatives.<sup>3</sup> But in the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>4</sup> Śālaṅkāyana figures as a famous sage among the founders of Brahmin families or *gōtras* who were the sons of Kauśika Viśvāmitra.

1 *I.e., naḍ-ādibhyaḥ phak.*

2 *I.e., the Dhāṅkāṭūra grant, op. cit.*

3 See Monier-Williams. *A Skt. Eng. Dict.* (II ed.), s.v. Śālaṅkāyana.

4 cf. .... Viśvāmitrō mahātapāḥ | ..... tasya putrā mahātmānō brahma-varṇśa-vivarddhakāḥ | ..... tathā khyātaḥ Śālaṅkāyana ēva cha- (*Anuśāsana*; Critical ed., Poona 1966 : Ch. 3, verses 46, 47, 51). Some MSS read *Śālaṅkāyana*. The old Calcutta ed. reads *Śālaṅghāyana*. The *Matsya* (ch. 145, verse 113) and the *Vāyu* (ch. 97, verse 3) *Purāṇas* (both Anandasrama ed.) include *Śālaṅkāyana* among the Kauśika - Viśvāmitras. For more details see D.C. Sircar *Successors of the Śātavāhanas* (*Journ. Dept. of Letters, University of Calcutta*, Vol. XXVI, 1935), p. 76.

The last epithet of Hastivarman reads *Dharmma-mahārāja* signifying “a *mahārāja*, a mighty king, who loves (or whose main aims are) meritorious acts”.<sup>1</sup> The same title or the more ambitious ones *dharmma-mahādhīrāja* *dharmma-mahārājādhīrāja* were borne by the Vākāṭaka king Vindhyaśakti and his father Śarvasēna, by the Pallava Śivaskandavarman of the Prakrit charters, and by the early Kadamba Kaṅgavarman - all more or less of the age of Hastivarman. The authors of the records of those kings seem to justify these royal titles by citing the great vedic sacrifices like *Aśvamēdha*, *Vājapeya*, etc., those kings claim to have performed.<sup>2</sup> But the author of our Guṇṭupalli inscription seems to follow a slightly different path of justifying such claim of his hero. He adds four adjectives to Hastivarman in defence of his claim.

The first of these four says that Hastivarman had acquired a body made of fame that was purified by many and varied meritorious things he created such as the *chaturvaidyaśālās*, *Vishṇugrihas* and also perhaps *Śivagrihas* - all fresh (*nava*) - besides by performing acts of Dharma. Of these enumerated four items the *chaturvaidyaśālās* signify the *pāṭhaśālās* or schools where the four Vēdas were taught. The grammarians recognize *chaturvaidya* in the sense of the student of the four Vēdas.<sup>3</sup> We have also epigraphs of later times where *śālā* is used to denote a *pāṭhaśālā* or college where the Vēdas were taught to the students hailing from different parts of the country.<sup>4</sup> In the present Guṇṭupalli inscription we have perhaps the earliest epigraphical reference to the establishment of *chaturvaidyaśālās*. The *chaturvaidyas* or the students or masters of the four Vēdas figure as the donees in both the Kanukollu plates of Śālankāyana Nandivarman I (the grandfather of Nandivarman II of our record) and of Skandavarman (a successor of Nandivarman II).<sup>5</sup>

It seems that the *chaturvaidyaśālās* of the succeeding ages came to be often designated as *ghaṭikās* on account of the ingenious mode of examinations they conducted for testing the

1 The *vigraha* intended here is *dharmma-priyah dharmma-pradhānah vā mahārājah* of the *śāka-pārthiva*-type. Cf. PA, 2.1.60.

2 See CA, pp. 272, 358, 360-61.

3 cf. *chatur-vēdasy=ōbhaya-pada-vṛddhiś=cha* (Ganasūtra 93) : *chaturō vēdān adhītē chaturvēdah, sa ēva chaturvaidyaḥ* in Bhattoji Dikshita's *Siddhāntakaumudī* under PA, 7.3.31

4 cf. *Śālā Maṇovat=iv-aishā brahmayuktā virājate* |

*atra vidyārthinah santi nānājanapad-ōdbhavāḥ* ||

in the Sālōṭgi Pillar inscriptions of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (945 A.D.) : Above, Vol. IV, pp. 60-61. Here *śālā brahmayuktā* connotes a school or college where *brahman* i.e. the Vēdas are taught. Cf. *vēdas tattvam tapō brahma* of the *Amarakōśa*. cf. Above, Vol. V, p. 63.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 4 ff., and pp. 9 ff. Here in these two records expressions denoting the names of the donees are *Rathakāra-chāturvaidya* and *agrahāra-Rathakāra-chāturvaidya*. The editor of these records had some misconceptions about the meaning of the term *rathakāra*. This word seems to have been used here primarily as the personal name of the brahmin donee himself, and secondarily as the name of an *agrahāra* donated to a brahmin named Rathakāra. cf. *Rathakārō nāma Brāhmaṇah* in Jayaditya Vamana's *Kāśikāvṛtti* and Bhattoji's *Siddhāntakaumudī* under PA, 6.2.77 *saṃjñāyam cha*.

proficiency of scholars. Many kings of ancient South India claimed to have established such *ghaṭikās* (i.e., *chaturvaidyaśālās*) and to have attained, by that means, unique merit.<sup>1</sup> In his famous *Dānakhaṇḍa* of the *chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, Hemādri quotes very ancient authorities to the effect that of all the gifts, the gift *brahmadāna* or imparting Vedic knowledge is the highest and that by making this gift one gets great merit by which one could attain *Brahmaloka* (the regions of the god Brahmā) from which one never returns (*avichyutah*).<sup>2</sup> The same compiler of the *dharmaśāstras* also cites authorities of yore extolling gifts to the deities Śiva, Viṣṇu, etc., enshrined in the *maṇḍapas*. There it is said that by giving such gifts one could achieve merits of all the *yajñas* (Vedic sacrifices) and could enjoy whatever one wants, and above all one could attain total liberation.<sup>3</sup>

In this context it may be noted that making these gifts amounts to give religion to the people and teaching the Vedas and spreading the Vedic culture. That is why these gifts are praised so high. But in ancient India excepting brahmins, no one, not even a king, could give religion to any or teach the Vedas, particularly the *karmakāṇḍa* parts of them. But the kings, and others too, could do all these indirectly by building temples of different gods and by establishing schools for Vedic studies. Secondly, only by creating and maintaining such institutions a king could infuse culture into his subjects and this is what is called *prajānām vinayadhana* and it was believed to be the bounden duty of every king of ancient India, as the poet Kālidāsa suggests while describing his ideal hero-king Dilipa.<sup>4</sup>

The author of our record tells us that the temples and the Vedic schools which Hastivarman established were new (*nava*). This probably suggests that there had been already some (or many) such institutions in the region to which Hastivarman added some new ones. From some of the Nagārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions we come to know that the Ikshvākus and others had already established, in the coastal region of Āndhra, temples of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kārtikēya, etc.<sup>5</sup>

1 cf. *Chaturvaidyam avivīśat sva-ghaṭikām bhūdēvatā-bhaktitah* in the Kaśākkudi plates of Nandivarman, *SII*, Vol. II, p. 349, verse 25. Also see *VTT*, pp. 236 ff.

2 cf. *Sarveshām ēva dānanam brahma-dānam viśishyatē* | etc., and *sarvadharmamayam brahma pradanēbhyo=dhikam yatah tad=dadat samavāpnōti brahmalōkam avichyuta* || Hemadri uses *Brahmadānam* as a synonym of *Vedadānam*. See Hemadri's *Dānakhaṇḍa* (*Bibliotheca Indica*, ed., Calcutta, 1873) p. 517.

3 cf. *Ēvam kritena labhatē sarvayajña-phalam narah* /  
*sarvan kaman avapnoti nirvānam chādhi-gachchhati* //  
*ibid.*, pp. 779 f

4 cf. *Prajānām vinay-āghanāt..... sa pita..... Raghuvamśa*, 1.24.

5 See Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 149 f.; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 19 f, 202 ff.; Vol. XXXV, p. 6 f.

It is also said that Hastivarman performed certain *dharma*s ‘meritorious acts’ besides establishing the above temples and the Vedic schools.<sup>1</sup> It is not specified what those acts were. However, in view of the fact that the kings who belonged to the age of Hastivarman had, like him, the title *dharmamahārāja* and justified the same, as we had shown above, by alluding to their performance of great sacrifices, we may here too identify the unspecified *dharmmas* of Hastivarman with the performance of such sacrifices, great and small, as enjoined in the Vēdas. For, the word is understood in the ancient Indian tradition primarily in the sense of the sacrifices enjoined.<sup>2</sup> It is also said, in the epithet, that Hastivarman performed the above mentioned meritorious acts out of his devotion to the god named “Tāmra”. (*bhagavat-Tāmmra-bhaktyā kṛita* .....). Here we find an echo of the famous *bhakti-yōga* concept propounded in the *Bhagavadgītā*.<sup>3</sup>

It is not easy to identify the god named *Tāmra*, to whom Hastivarman is said to have been devoted. For, in the entire well-known pantheon of ancient and medieval India we do not find any god bearing the name *Tāmra*. Perhaps we may have to take this name in its etymological-cum-conventional sense (*yōgarūḍha*) to mean “the god having coppery red colour”. In the Purāṇic and in the Tantra literature, the Mother Goddess is described to be bright red in colour like the *sindūra*-flower (*sindūrārūnavigrahām*).<sup>4</sup> The god of the planet Mars, called *Angāraka*, is said to be bloody red in colour<sup>5</sup> and the god Kumāra Kartikēya to be red-bodied.<sup>6</sup> But in the expression *bhagavat-Tāmra*, the word *Tāmra* seems to constitute a name rather than a mere adjective; and this excludes the probability of a reference here to the said deities. Now it may be noted that in the *Śatarudriya* chapter of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* the God Rudra Śiva is found described first as *tāmra* i.e., in the form of the just Rising Sun (*asau yas tāmrah*)<sup>7</sup> and the Vēda then pays homage to that God *Tāmra* (*namas Tāmrāya cha*).<sup>8</sup> In this context it may be noted that the *Bōdhāyana-grihyasūtra* describes the Sun God himself as *Īśvara* i.e., Rudra Śiva (*Īśvaram Bhāskaram vidyāt*).<sup>9</sup> And the

1 For the *vigraha* of this compound word under study see the note on the same in the text.

2 cf. the Mīmāṃsā philosopher Jaimini's definition *Chōdanā-lakṣaṇaḥ arthaḥ dharmah* (*Pūrvamīmāṃsa sūtra* 1.1.2) “what is enjoined in the Vēdas as means for attaining desired results is *dharmma*”.

3 *Mad-artham api karmāṇi kurvan siddhim avāpsyasi* | (12.10);  
*yat karōshi. yaj=juhōshi dadāsi yat* |  
*Yat tapasyasi Kauntēya tat kurushva mad-arpanam* || (9.27)

4 The famous *dhyāna-ślōka* of Lalitā-Tripurasundarī.

5 cf. *Dhārāsutam*...*raktakāñchana-sankāsam* in the *Bōdhāyana-Grihyasūtra* (ed. L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore, 1904), p. 197, Vv. 7-8.

6 cf. *Kumārām Śaktihastam lohitaṅgam*, *ibid.*, verse 12.

7 *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, 4.5.1. *mantra* 7. Thus *mantra*, with slight variations is also found in the *Kāṇva*, *Maitrāyaṇīya*, *Vājasaneyā* and *Kāthaka Saṁhitās*.

8 *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, 4.5.7. *yajus*, 2.

9 *Bōdhāyana-Grihyasūtra* (*op. cit.*), p. 195.

*Bhagavadgītā* too tells us that the ideal sage would meditate on the Supreme who is coloured like the Sun, just going beyond the darkness, i.e., the Sun, just rising.<sup>1</sup> One more thing to be noted here is that : Basing on some other grounds, scholars have already suggested that the tutelary deity of the Śaṅkayanas was the Sun God and their bull-crest is indicative of their general Śaiva affiliations even though individual kings of the family worshipped Śiva or Viṣṇu.<sup>2</sup> Thus, by the present epithet, the poet author of our present record most probably intends to portray the hero Hastivarman as a person devoted to *bhagavat-Tāmra*, i.e., Rudra Śiva in the form of the Rising Sun. So, when we could thus appreciate the poet in this manner, we need not find fault with him for employing an obscure word like *Tāmra* instead of well known synonyms like *Sūrya*, *Rudra*, *Śiva*, etc.

The expression *bhagavat-Tāmrabhaktyā*, etc. in our record indeed recalls to our mind the phrase *bhaktyā bhagavataḥ Śambhōr=guḥam ētām akārayat*,<sup>3</sup> a description of Virasēna, an officer of the imperial Gupta king Chandragupta II in the Udayagiri Cave inscription (401 A.D., i.e., the age to which Śaṅkayana Hastivarman belonged) ; and also the description *bhaktyā bhagavataḥ Śambhōḥ ..... sthāpitam Chitrasēnēna lingam*, etc., in a Cambodian inscription (7th century A.D.).<sup>4</sup> Here it must also be noted that in our present inscription too a reading like *bhagavat-Śambhubhaktyā kṛita-* etc., is not altogether an impossibility.<sup>5</sup> On top of all this what is very significant is the fact the Dravidian linguists compare *Śambhu*, the well-known epithet or name of Rudra Śiva with *chembu* or *śembu*, a Tamil equivalent of Sanskrit *tāmra*, 'copper'.<sup>6</sup>

Some three syllables in the middle of the next epithet of Hastivarman are lost. Yet, one can be certain that the epithet describes him as one who had won a complete victory over the cravings for the wordly sense-objects of manifold varieties. This epithet reminds us of the *Bhagavadgītā* passages describing the *sthitaprajñā* (the man of steady wisdom) as "one who would withdraw his sense-organs completely from the sense-objects, just as the tortoise does its limbs",<sup>7</sup> and as "one whose craving for sense-objects has disappeared after he has realised the Supreme".<sup>8</sup> Thus the epithets we have studied so far depict Hastivarman as a king with saintly disposition.

1 cf. *anusmarēd ..... Aditya-varṇam*  
*tamasah parastāt* (*Bhagavadgītā*, 8, 9).

2 CA, pp. 205-06; HSI, p. 105. See also below.

3 FGI, p. 35, verse 5.

4 See above, Vol. XXXV, p. 112.

5 See the note on the concerned word in the text.

6 HCIP Vol. I : The Vedic Age (1965), p. 164.

7 cf. *yadā samharatē chāyam kūrmo=ngān=iva sarvataḥ |*  
*indriyāṇ=indriyārthēbhyas=tasya prajñā pratishṭhitā ||*  
(*Bhagavadgītā*, 2.58)

8 cf. *Rasavarjam rasō=py-asya param dṛishṭvā nivartatē | ibid., 2.59.*

In the next epithet, the poet, by employing a simile (*upamāṅkāra*), describes Hastivarman as a person gifting away wealth just as *Mahārāja* does. Who was this person referred to as *Mahārāja* who was an ideal person well-known for his liberality? Certainly the poet could not have used *mahārāja* merely as a common noun meaning “a great or mighty ruler”. For, as shown above, Hastivarman himself was a *mahārāja* (rather *dharmamahārāja*); and the figure of speech ‘simile’ employed here demands that the subject of comparison (*upamēya*) must be different from the object of comparison (*upamāna*).<sup>1</sup> Hence, it is imperative that we should treat the word *Mahārāja* as a name or an epithet-cum-name of an individual, who had been acknowledged in the poetic tradition as a person noted for his liberality. So, let us turn to Sanskrit literature for help. A magical formula (*mantra*) in the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* invokes the god Vaiśravaṇa Kubēra, the mythical lord of all the wealths (*ghanādhipa*) and of the Northern direction (*uttaradīpāla*) and praises him by epithet-cum-names such as *Rājādhirāja* ‘overlord of the kings’, *Kāmēśvara* ‘the lord fulfilling all (our) desires’ and *Mahārāja* ‘the great or mighty king’.<sup>2</sup> In Sanskrit classical tradition also Kubēra is well-known as a great king, worthy to be compared with. The universally acknowledged first classical poet (*ādikavi*) Vālmiki describes—through the mouth of Hanumān—his hero Rāma as a king of the entire universe, like Kubēra-Vaiśravaṇa.<sup>3</sup> The sag- poet Vyāsa too recognises Vaiśravaṇa-Kubēra as the best among kings, just as Uchchaisrāvā, the horse of Indra is among the horses.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, as a generous giver of wealth, Kubēra is proverbial.<sup>5</sup> His exclusive adjective or another typical name *ghananda* itself signifies that he is, according to the tradition, the bestower of wealth. That is why the most bountiful hero of the *Mahābhārata*, viz., Karna, is praised as a born bestower of wealth like Vaiśravaṇa-Kubēra.<sup>6</sup> The uniqueness of Kubēra’s liberality is that he bestows wealth much more than what is requested for. Hence, in his *Kādambarī*, Bāṇa compares his hero Śūdraka with Ghanada Kubēra in making gifts.<sup>7</sup> The well-known Raghu-Kautsa episode in the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa details how

1 *Eg.*, in the well-known simile *chandra iva mukham* “the face is (pleasing) like the Moon”, the face is different from the Moon. In the context of the epithet under examination, one should not think of the figure of speech *ananvayāṅkāra*, in which the object of comparison is compared with its own ideal, just as *indur indur iva śrīmān* “the Moon is pleasant like the Moon”.

2 cf. *Rājādhirājāya... namo vayam vaiśravaṇāya kurmahē ... kāmēśvaro Vaiśravaṇo dadātu | Kubērāya ... mahārājāya namaḥ | Tai. Āraṇyaka 1.32. daśinī 6.*

3 cf. *Rājā sarvasya lōkasya dēvō Vaiśravaṇo yathā* (in the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* (VR) (Madras, 1958), *Sundarakāṇḍa*, 43.29.

4 cf. *Uchchaisrāvā varō=śvānām rājānām Vaiśravaṇo varah* in the *Mahābhārata* (MB) *Karna-parvan* (Poona, 1954), 5.21.

5 E.W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (Delhi, 1986), p. 144.

6 cf. *bhīyād vasu tvam tyajasi dēvō Vaiśravaṇo yathā*, MB, op. cit., 27.19. *Vasu* ‘wealth’.

7 cf. *prasādē Ghanadēna*. The commentator adds *samīhit-ādika-pradānāt*. See the *Kādambarī* with comm. (NSP, 1948), p. 4.



the hero Raghu thought of going on an expedition to Kubēra for getting 14 crores of gold for the sake of the scholar-bachelor-sage Kautsa; how even before he started, Kubēra poured, in the royal treasury, gold much more than the said amount; and how the liberal Raghu too compelled the unwilling bachelor to receive the entire amount Kubēra had poured.<sup>1</sup> Thus it is certain that following the classical Sanskrit poetic tradition the author of the present record describes Hastivarman, in the present epithet, as a liberal giver of wealth like Mahārāja Kubēra.

The last epithet of Hastivarman reads *bhūpati-sattama*. This should be normally taken to mean “the best among the rulers of the earth.” However, Sanskrit lexicographers, like Amarasimha, recognise *san* as a synonym of *vidvān* “the learned one”. Hence, the present epithet may as well mean “the most learned among the kings”. In the ancient Indian literary tradition, the heroes of poems are always described as masters of many branches of learning. In this aspect the authors of the epigraphs of ancient India did not lag behind. Thus Chēdi Mahāmēghavāhana Khāravēla (1st century B.C.) is described as one glowing with the knowledge of all sciences.<sup>2</sup> The *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman I (2nd century A.D.) is praised to have attained proficiency in grammar, economics, music, Nyāyāśāstra, etc.<sup>3</sup> The Śātavāhana king Puṣumāvi (2nd century A.D.) claims to be an abode of traditional literature.<sup>4</sup> Samudragupta (4th century A.D.) is said to have earned the title *kavirāja* “a king among poets” on the basis of his poetic compositions.<sup>5</sup> The Kadamba king Mayūśārman (4th century A.D.) claims to have learnt Vēdas by serving well in the *guru-kulas*.<sup>6</sup> An epithet of the Bhañja king Śatrubhañja (6th century A.D.) depicts him as a master of subjects like the *Mahābhārata*, *Purāṇa*, *Itihāsa*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Sāṅkhya*, *Nyāya*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Chhandas*, *Śruti*, *Buddhaprakaraṇas*, etc.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, one need not hesitate to accept the second interpretation of the present epithet. It may be recalled that Rājendra Chōla (11th century A.D.) had the title *Paṇḍita-Chōla* “the learned Chōla”, and this title of his has been justified on the basis of the monarch’s liberal provisions for the Vedic college at Eṇṇāyiram.<sup>8</sup> As we saw above Hastivarman also had established *chāturvaidyāśālās* or Vedic Colleges.

1 See the *Raghuvamśa*, 5.25 ff; particularly the description *nripō=rthikāmād adhika-pradaś=cha*, verse 31.

2 cf. *sarvva-vidyāvadātēna* in the Hāthigumphā inscription : above, Vol. XX, p. 72, line 2. We give hereinafter the Sanskrit *chhāyā* of the Prakrit original.

3 cf. *śabda-artha-gāndharva-Nyāyādyanāṇ vidyānām mahatnām vijñāna-prayōgāvāpta-vipula-kīrtinā* in the Junāgaḍh Rock inscription (*op. cit.*), text line 13.

4 cf. *āgamānām nilayasya* in the Nāsik cave inscription : above, Vol. VIII, p. 60, text line 27.

5 cf. *anēka-kāvya-kriyābhīḥ pratishṭhita-kavirājaśabdasya* in the Allahabad *prastāvi* : FGI., pp. 6 ff., text line 27.

6 cf. *guru-kulāni samyag ārādhyā* in the Tālagunda inscription : above, Vol. VIII, p. 32, text line 4.

7 See the Asanapaṭ Inscription of the king : *ibid.*, Vol. XL, pp. 12 ff., text lines 11-12.

8 See R. Sathianathaier, *A Political and Cultural History of India*, Vol. I : *Ancient India* (Madras, 1952), p. 387; above, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 223 ff.

Hastivarman's son Nandivarman I is described by the poet by some three epithets in lines 4-5. Of them the third one praises him as a benefactor of, or as one favourable to, his subjects (*prajānāṃ hitakara*),<sup>1</sup> while the other two seem to justify this claim of his. One of the two declares that the chief life-aim of the king is (two-fold), intense mercy towards all (*day-ānukampā-parāyaṇa*).<sup>2</sup> This *dayānukampā*, a strong dose of mercy, is considered to be one of the chief characteristics of the *dhīrōdatta* or the brave-and-noble-minded hero of classical Sanskrit poems.<sup>3</sup> And the other epithet of Nandivarman I (of which a few letters in the middle are lost) seems to tell us that the king gifted away gold, cows, land and live trees in large numbers, and that he thereby earned merit (*anēka-śatasahasra-hiraṇya-gō-bhū-jivataru-pradānārjita-dharma*). The gift of gold, cows and land are very well known from many inscriptions<sup>4</sup> and from the *Dharmaśāstra* literature.<sup>5</sup> But the reference to the gift of live trees is rather rare. However, Hēmadri, whom we had already referred to, allots a separate section called *Vrikshadānavidhi* where he quotes great ancient sages prescribing, for various merits and benefits, the gifts of different trees, like *sahakāra*, *aśvattha*, *jambū*, *nyagrōdha*, *kadali*, *chūta*, *tāla*, etc.<sup>6</sup> That is why we find in one of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions<sup>7</sup> one Śivasēmba, the *Mahatalavara* of the Ābhira king Vasushēṇa (3rd century A.D.), claiming to have grown and gifted *tālavanās* or palmyra-groves in some two places. Because Nandivarman I had performed meritorious acts of different nature, he is praised as such also in the Peda-Vēgi plates<sup>8</sup> of his grandson Nandivarman II, who is also the issuer of the present charter. This Nandivarman I seems to have reigned for a fairly long period. For we have two

- 1 cf. *sarvalōkasya hitē pravṛttih* in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta : *FGI.*, pp. 58 ff., text line 7.
- 2 cf. *dhṛita-kārunya* an epithet of Rudradāman in his Junāgaḍh inscription (*op. cit.*), line 10. Amarasiṃha recognises *dayā* and *anukampā* as synonyms of *kṛpā* 'mercy'. Yet, to avoid a sort of tautology here we may have to take these two in their etymological senses : *dayā* (*day* 'to save'), 'a mental disposition by which one saves others from afflictions'; and *anukampā* (*anu* + *kamp* 'to shake') 'a disposition because of which one is mentally moved like the afflicted person himself'.
- 3 See e.g., *Pratāparudriyam* : ed. V. Raghavan (Madras 1979), p. 14. And also see comm. thereunder.
- 4 See e.g. *anukampāvatō=nēka-gōśatasahasra-pradāyinaḥ* (epithet of Samudragupta) in the Allahabad *praśasti*, *op. cit.*, line 25; *hiranyakōṭi-gōśatasahasra-halaśatasahasra-dāyinaḥ* (an epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chantamula I) in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription : above, Vol. XX, p. 16, lines 4-5.
- 5 See Hēmadri, *op. cit.*, pp. 457 ff. ; pp. 468 ff; pp. 565 ff.
- 6 *Ibid.*, pp. 1033 ff. In this section of the work it is interesting to read ancient authorities enjoining that every man should grow and gift a number of different trees for the sake of the community; that the trees themselves bear all the heat of the Sun; yet they give cool shades to all who come to them; they bear fruits for the sake of others only; and that they must be grown and gifted. cf. *Aśvattham ēkam pichumandam ēkaṃ nyagrōdham ēkam daśa tintriṇukam | kapittha-bilv-āmalaki-tri-pāñcha-pāñch-āmra-vāpi(dāyī) Narakaṃ na paśyet || ++++ chhāyām anyasya kurvanti tishṭanti svayam-ātapē-parā ātapē | phalanti cha parārthēshu na svārthaika-para drumāḥ || atō drumāḥ sadā rōpyāḥ (dēyāḥ) sarva- kāmā-samriddhayē ||* What a commendable ecological awareness of the ancient Indians!
- 7 *JAIH* Vol. XV, pp. 186-87. In the said section of *Dānakhaṇḍa* one reads *apatya-phaladās=tālāḥ* The printed text is obviously wrong.
- 8 *Op. cit.* ; cf. *vividha-dharma-pradhā (?dā)nasya* in lines 2-3.

records of his reign : (1) the Kānukollu plates issued by the king in his 14th regnal year;<sup>1</sup> and (2) the Dhārikāṭūra grant<sup>2</sup> issued by his son Achaṇḍavarman, as a *yuvārāja* in the 35th regnal year of the ruling king Nandivarman I.

The next king Achaṇḍavarman, the son of Nandivarman I, is eulogised in the succeeding two lines (lines 6-7) as follows : He would amply reward even the simplest service or favour done to him and he would suitably retaliate even the slightest wrong done to him (*ishanmātrā-ōpakār-āpakra-pratikārasya*).<sup>3</sup> Another epithet says that he had subdued his neighbouring kings by his valour (*pratāpōpānata-sāmantasya*). The same epithet is found applied to this king in the Peda-Vēgi plates also, already referred to. Hence, we may rightly conclude that by his military might, Achaṇḍavarman had extended his political influence among the neighbouring rulers of the region. The third epithet describes the king as a bestower of wealth in plenty. The last epithet tells us that this king inflicted violent punishment on those who were on the side of his enemies (*dvit-paksha-chaṇḍadaṇḍa*). This epithet had been manufactured obviously with a view to justify the name *Achaṇḍavarman* of the king. The poet perhaps takes this name here in the sense of 'one who has no violent person excelling him', i.e., the most violent person.<sup>4</sup>

Achaṇḍavarman's son, the ruling monarch Vijaya-Nandivarman, is described by epithets in lines 7-8. His title *mahārāja* found in his own Peda-Vēgi and Kantēru plates must have been there in our present record too at the end of the eighth line, now broken off. The other titles of his are (1) *bhagavach-Chitrarathasvāmi-pādānuddhyāta* (only partly preserved) 'meditating on the feet of the god Chitrarathasvāmin' ; (2) *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pādabhakta* 'devoted to his father, the revered king'; (3) *parama-Bhāgavata* 'a great devotee of the Bhagavat (Vishṇu)'; and (4) *Śālankāyana-varṇśa-prabhava* 'born in the family of Śālankāyana (the sage)'. All these epithets, neither more nor less, are found applied to Nandivarman II in his own Peda-Vēgi and Kantēru plates also, where the fourth epithet has been shortened as *Śālankāyanaḥ*, but meaning the same. Again, it may be of interest to note that these epithets alone (and not more) are found assumed also by *Yuvamahārāja* Achaṇḍavarman (father of Nandivarman II) in his Dhārikāṭūra grant,<sup>5</sup> and also by Vijaya Skandavarman (a cousin brother and a successor of Nandivarman II) in his Kantēru and

1 Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 1 ff.

2 *Op. cit.*

3 cf. *kathāñchid=upakāreṇa kṛitēnaikēna tushyati* |  
and *apakurvan hi Ramasya sākshād api Purandaraḥ* |  
*na sukhān prāpnuyāt*, etc.

the description of Śrī Rāma's two characteristics by Vālmīki. See *VR.*, *Ayōdhyā* 1.11 and *Sundara* 51.33 respectively.

4 The *vigraha* intended here is obviously *na vidyatē chaṇḍō yasmāt saḥ; sa chāsau varṇā cha*. cf., Above, Vol., XXXVI, p. 4.

5 *Op. cit.*

Kānukollu plates.<sup>1</sup> Thus it seems that the court poets of the Śālaṅkāyana kings had set up a unique convention of describing their monarchs only in these set epithets of the nature of the most factual statement. Obviously the Śālaṅkāyana kings were, by nature, *avikatthanas*,<sup>2</sup> i.e., they did not like to be praised highly.

Having thus introduced the ruling king Nandivarman II, the preamble of our record concludes with the king's address to the *mutuḍas* 'elders or headmen' connected with a district and to the *grāmēyakas* 'the inhabitants or officials of a village' in a district. The name of this locality as well as that of the district are not clear. Perhaps they were respectively Bhūtaṭṭaṇḍaka and Vachaḍa.

Then follows the second section of the record, viz., the royal decree proper in lines 10-20. A major portion of this section, as we have observed in the very beginning, is very much effaced, damaged and lost. Hence, it is not possible to derive from it sufficient information. But this much is certain : By this decree the king made a permanent (*ā-chandr-ārka-tārakā-prithivī-sama-kālam*, line 16) land grant (as the imprecatory verses suggest) in favour of the honourable disciples of the Buddha (*-vandyamāna-sphurad-anghribhyō Buddha-śishyēbhyah*, line 19) with certain privileges (majority of them are not readable) like freedom from the obligations of supplying curd etc. (..... *dadhy-atakra*....., line 18).<sup>3</sup> The gift land excluded the lands of the good learned Brahmins of the neighbourhood (*sāmanta-bhaṭṭavara-bhū-parihāra*....., line 18). In this connection the following is to be noted. While introducing the donee the Buddha is praised (line 12). Probably the latter was the head of the holy place (*sthānavara*), obviously a *vihāra*; he was a refuge of all beings (*sarvva-bhūta-śaraṇāya*, line 15), and was an ascetic (*yativarāya*, line 16). It was perhaps he who received the land-gift on behalf of the Buddhist clergy. The king is said to have made the gift for the prosperity or increases of his own clan and family (*asmat-kula-gōtr-ābhivṛddhayē*, line 10) and it was made for the maintenance of the residence or hostel of the disciples of the Buddha (*bhagavatō Buddhasya śishyāṇām sadmanō bharanārtham*, line 11). A person, whose name seems to be [Nā]garāja, is introduced (line 13), perhaps as ruling over Nā[ta]-vishaya (line 12), and as having done something for the increase of his own merit, valour, true fame, etc. (*ātmanah punya-pratāpa-satya-yaśō-bhivṛddhayē*, line 13). The circumstances suggest that the king made the grant probably at the instance of this Nāgarāja or more probably the latter himself made the grant while the king ratified the same by issuing the charter. The preamble comes to an end with the statement that the charter bearing the royal decree was issued (*paṭṭikā dattā*) in the (regnal) year four (or forty-four).

1 See *JAHRS*, Vol. V, pp. 30 ff. ; and above, Vol. XXV, pp. 42 ff., respectively. In fact Mahārāja Nandivarman I (grandfather of Nandivarman II) is endowed only with the single title *bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-paṅgnhita* in his Kānukollu plates (*op. cit.*).

2 Kālidāsa attributes this gentlemanly characteristic, through the mouth of Vālmīki, to the epic hero Śrī Rāma. See *Raghuvamśa*, 14.73.

3 See the note under the text.

The next or the concluding portion contains the partly preserved four verses. They all praise the greatness of gifting lands and of protecting such gifts ; and also imprecate those who disturb the land grants. Of these stanzas, the first three are quite common in Sanskrit charters and the last one is a bit rare. But all these verses are found in the literary works extolling land grants.

Having thus studied the contents of the record in detail let us try to assess its contribution to our knowledge of history. As stated above, it is the solitary lithic inscription and also the lengthiest of the known records of the Śālanākāyanas. The record adds nothing new to our knowledge about the political history of the kings of the dynasty or of their chronology and genealogy. Yet, it throws light on many aspects of the cultural history of the age and area. Firstly, being written in simple, but elegant poetic prose, this early Sanskrit record does help the students of Sanskrit literary history in tracing a link between the northern style of the fourth century A.D. and the southern style of the succeeding age. Indeed pleasing alliterations like *Śālanāka-kul-amal-akāśa-śaśānka* (line 1), *upakār-āpakāra-pratikāra* (line 6), *chanda-dandasya=Achandavarmmanah* (line 7), etc., did herald the more picturesque ones we find in plenty in the *Daśakumāracharita* of Āchārya Daṇḍin (7th century).

The reference to the sage Śālanāka as the progenitor of the Śālanākāyanas is interesting. The name of the sage reminds us of the name *Śālanāki* of the river mentioned in the Baudh plates of Ranabhaṇja (9th century A.D.)<sup>1</sup> as a tributary of the Mahānadi. This river is the same as the modern Sālki that joins the Mahānadi near Baudh in the Orissa State.<sup>2</sup> It may not be wrong to assume that the names *Śālanāka* and *Śālanāki* are closely inter-related. It is known from the epics that Viśvāmitra Kauśika (to whose group Śālanāka-Śālanākāyana belonged)<sup>3</sup> had the holy river Kauśiki on the Himālayas for his sister.<sup>4</sup> May be, in the same manner Śālanāka was also believed to have had Śālanāki for his sister. These river-names and their probable connections with the sages are perhaps indicative of these two sages and their immediate descendants having settled on the banks of these rivers before they migrated further South.<sup>5</sup>

1 Above, Vol. XII, p. 327, text line 23

2 *Ibid.*, note 4, *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 300

3 See p. 99 and n. 4 above

4 Cf. *Viśvāmitrasya bhagīnī (vipulā) nadī rājarshī-sēvitā | Kauśikī śivā punyā brahmarshi-gaṇasēvitā ||* (MB, *op. cit.*) *Anuśāsana*, 3, 10

5 It has been pointed out that *Śālanākāyana* is the name of Nandin, the bull Śiva, which was also the crest of the Śālanākāyana rulers (CA, pp. 205-06). However, the word does not seem to have been recognised or used in the sense of *Nandin* excepting by a few lexicographers of the medieval age. It is possible that the said lexicographers' recognition of it in the said sense is based on a different etymology of the word, i.e., *Lankā ayanam yasya saḥ lankāyanah Rāvanah, tēna saha vartatē iti śālanākāyanah* (the initial *śa* and *sa* are interchangeable) *Nandin*. It is well known among the Śaivas, that Rāvana and Nandin, (along with a few others) are put on par in receiving Śiva's *prasāda* (the remnant of what is offered to Śiva). There is a well-known verse of unknown source running : *Bāṇa-Rāvana-Chandīśa-Nandi-Bhrīgīnī-ādayah | Mahādēva-prasādō=yam sarvā gṛhpatu Śāmbhavāḥ*. This verse is being recited almost invariably by the Śaivas even to-day while performing *Nandipūjā* at the end of their daily worship of Śiva. Basing on the said etymology of *Śālanākāyana* (from *lankā* 'island'), the name seems to have been applied to the sage Vyāsa (the author of the epic *Mahābhārata*) also who was born to Satyawati in a *lankā* or an island in the midst of the Gangā. See the *Śabdakalpadrūma*, s.v. *Śālanākāyanajivasūh*, cf. also *Dvāipāyana* (dvīpa 'island'), another name of Vyāsa.

The present Guntupalli record is also of great importance for our study of the history of Indian religions during that age. The reference to the cult of Rudra Śiva in the form of the rising Sun (*Tāmra*) which, as pointed out earlier, has Vedic sanction in a way, is unique, particularly in the South Indian context. In the succeeding age, i.e., early sixth century, the founders of the Pushyabhūti dynasty in the North, viz., Rajyavardhana I, and his son and grandson Ādityavardhana and Prabhākaravardhana claimed to be *Paramaditya-bhaktas* "the most devoted worshippers of the Sun".<sup>1</sup> But they too did not worship the rising Sun, as Rudra Śiva, as the Śāṅkayanas appear to have done.

Chitrarathasvāmin, apparently the family god the Śāṅkayanas, has been identified with the Sun-god on the ground that *Chitraratha* "having a bright chariot" is found recognised in the lexicons as an appellation of the Sun-god.<sup>2</sup> But this word, like another word, *chitrabhānu*, "having bright rays" is recognised by the lexicons as an appellation of the Fire-god (*Agni*) as well.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, the said appellation alone may not decide the point. But the reference to the early Śāṅkayana ruler Hastivarman's devotion to *bhagavat* Tāmra seems to suggest that the family deity was also probably Rudra Śiva himself in the form of the Rising Sun. May be Chitraratha "one having a bright chariot"<sup>4</sup> of the Śāṅkayana records used as a synonym of Skt. *Tāmraratha* "one having coppery-red chariot" - a chariot which Rudra Śiva is described, in a Vedic text, as riding in the heavens.<sup>5</sup>

The stress in the record on the various gifts said to have been made by the Śāṅkayana kings is also significant. Śāṅkayana Dēvavarman, perhaps a predecessor of Hastivarman, claims to have preformed the great Vedic royal sacrifice, *Aśvamēdha*, sometime in the early fourth century.<sup>6</sup> Mādhavavarman of the Vishṇukunḍi dynasty performed as many as eleven *Aśvamēdhas* along with *Kratusahasra Sarvamēdha* and other Vedic sacrifices in the succeeding age, i.e., the later part of the fifth century.<sup>7</sup> Again as observed above, the kings who were contemporaries of Hastivarman Śāṅkayana and who too assumed, like him, the title *Dharmamahārāja* (or *Dharmamahādhirāja*) seem to justify that epithet of theirs by referring to their performance of the sacrifice *Aśvamēdha* prescribed in the Vēda. On the other hand the author of our record appears to justify that title on the basis of the king having made the gifts enjoined in the *Smṛitis* and *Purāṇas*, and not on the basis of the performances of sacrifices as prescribed in the Vēda. This shows that *smārta-dharma* had gained ground over *śrauta-dharma* in the Śāṅkayana kingdom. This shift of stress was perhaps due to the

1 See e.g., the preamble of the Madhuban plates of Harshavardhana . above, Vol., I, p. 72

2 CA, p. 205.

3 See Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, s. v.

4 *Ibid.*, s. v.

5 cf. *Tāmrāśvās=tāmrarathāḥ* ..... *ito Rudrāḥ parām gatāḥ* — the *Taittirīya Aranyaka* 1.7.4.

6 CA., p. 205.

7 VTT., pp. 13, 169.

traditional texts that glorify the greatness of making gifts over and above the performance of penance and sacrifices.<sup>1</sup>

This much is for the *śrauta* and the *smārta dharmas*. From the point of Purāṇic religion also our record is important. Śaṅkayana Dēvavarman, whom we mentioned above, styled himself as *paramamahēśvara* “a staunch devotee of the god Mahēśvara Śiva”.<sup>2</sup> But the case was different with regard to Nandivarman II. For, though as a Śaṅkayana he was a devotee of the god Chitrarathasvāmin, he was personally a *paramabhāgavata* “a staunch worshipper of the Bhagavat, i.e., Vishnu”. Possibly, he was the first monarch, or one among the earliest known kings of the South to assume the title *paramabhāgavata*. He was a younger contemporary of the great Gupta emperor Chandragupta II (c. 380-474 A.D.), the first known *paramabhāgavata* among the Gupta kings. It is said that this Gupta emperor was at the root of the great popularity of the Bhāgavata cult.<sup>3</sup> We do not know whether a strong northern Bhāgavata-wind blew southward, reached the coastal Andhra region and converted Nandivarman II into a *paramabhāgavata*.

The present record is again interesting for the study of the history of Buddhism of the age. The mighty Śatavāhana emperors were personally staunch orthodox Vedists and they performed Vedic sacrifices. Yet, they did readily favour the heterodox religion viz., Buddhism, as their own records reveal. Their golden examples were emulated by their successors in Āndhra, viz., the Ikshvākus who were personally Vedists and yet encouraged Buddhism. Our present record stands witness to the fact that this legacy was continued happily by the Śaṅkayanas also. In fact this practice was continued in the next age too by the Viṣṇukunḍis who were very staunch Vedists. Two among them are known to have favoured Buddhism by building monasteries and by granting lands to them.<sup>4</sup> The fact that the Buddhists flourished in the midst of the Vedists is vouched for by our present Guṇṭupalli record itself by referring to the lands gifted to the Buddhists as being located in the neighbourhood of the lands of the orthodox Brahmins (*sāmanta-bhāṭṭavara-bhū*, line 18) which were excluded from the gift. Thus, the religion of the Buddha lived a healthy life in the midst of the Vedic religion and the monastic disciplines of early days were continued to be practiced (as indicated by the decree part of our record, describing the followers of the Buddha and their *sthavira*). All these do testify to the comparative vigour and prosperity

1 cf. *Kṛta-Treta-Dvaparēshu tapō yajñāh praśasyate /  
munayō=tra praśamsanti danam ēkam kalau yugē //*

See above, Vol. XXXII, p. 75.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 58.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 136

4 *VTT.*, pp. 153, ff., 182 ff

that Buddhism enjoyed in the coastal Andhra region, as elsewhere too in the north during the age.<sup>1</sup>

In the extant portion of the record we read the names of four geographical units. Of them, the first one is Vēṅgīpura, the capital of the Śālaṅkāyanas. It has been already identified with the modern Peda-Vēṅgi,<sup>2</sup> a village near Ēlūru, the headquarters of the taluk of that name in the West Godavari District. The reading of the names of the other three places is uncertain. We have doubtfully read them as Vachāḍa-vishaya, Bhūtaṭṭāṇḍaka-grāma and Nāta-vishaya. Of them the former two are obviously the district and village where the gift land of the charter was situated. The third geographical unit, viz., the Nāta-vishaya, as we hinted earlier, could have been a district or an administrative unit over which Nāgarāja might have ruled as a subordinate. I confess that I am unable to identify any of these three geographical units. The Brāhmī inscriptions from Guṇṭupalli of the first century A.D.<sup>3</sup> refer to the locality of the Buddhist site in Guṇṭupalli as Nāgaparvata. This name is not traceable in the available portion of the epigraph.

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti [1\*] Śrī-Vijaya-Vēṅgīpurāt<sup>5</sup> [1\*] Śālaṅka-kul-āmal-ākaśa-Śaśāṅkasya Bhagavat-Tam[m]ra<sup>6</sup>-bhaktya kṛita-dharmma-nava ..<sup>7</sup>
- 2 Viṣṇugriha-chaturvaidya-śāl-adya-a[nē]ka-vidha-punya-karmma<sup>8</sup>-paripūta-yaśaś-śarirasya<sup>8</sup> nana-praka[ra]<sup>10</sup>...

- 
- 1 See R. Sathianathier, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-29. In this context it may also be good to remember that Śaṅkarācārya, the most vociferous teacher of the age of Vedic revivalism (and also perhaps Kumārīlabhaṭṭa) did not condemn the religious aspect or any religious practice of Buddhism, even though he spared no pain in refuting the philosophy of the Buddhists.
  - 2 Above, Vol. IX, p. 58.
  - 3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 274 ff.
  - 4 From an inked estampage and a photograph of an estampage received from the Director (Epigraphy), Mysore.
  - 5 The final *t* is written in diminutive form below the line.
  - 6 The reading could be -tāmbra as well. Another probable, but doubtful reading, as stated above, is *Bhagavat-Ṣa[m]bhū[bh]aktyā*.
  - 7 Some two or three letters that are lost here are perhaps Śiva or śrī-Śiva.
  - 8 Here the adjective *śālādi*, directly qualifies *karmma*. Hence, the latter word seems to have been used to mean 'kārya' or 'the result of an act', as in the Upanishadic passage 'yasya vā ētat sa vai vāditavyaḥ' (*Kaushītaki Upanishad* 4.18). "Indeed He should be realised whose work (result of whose work) is this Universe". See Śrī Śaṅkara under *Brahmasūtra* 1.4.6; and the grammatical rule *kṛiṇō bhāvē karmaṇi cha manin* (*Uṇādisūtra*, 4.145). In English too the word work means both 'an effort' (or 'act') as well as 'the result of an act'.
  - 6 Here the intended *vigraha* is *dharmāḥ cha Śiva-Viṣṇu ++ śālādīni puṇya-karmāṇi cha, dharmā+++ karmāṇi* (a *Dvandva* compound); *kṛitāni cha tāni dharmā+++ karmāṇi cha* (a *Karmadhāraya* compound); *taiḥ paripūtam yaśa ēva śarīraṁ yasya, tasya* (a *Bahuvrīhi* compound).
  - 7 Only the head of *ra* is visible. The three letters, that might have been lost here, may be restored as *vishaya*.



- 3 rasa-vijayasya Mahārāja-saḍriśa-dhana-visarggasya bhūpati-sattamas [ya]...<sup>1</sup>  
 4 varmma-dharmma-mahārājasya prapautraḥ day-ānukampā-parāyaṇasy=ānēka-śata-sahasra-hi...<sup>2</sup>.  
 5 [ji]va-taru-pradān-ārjjita-dharmmasya<sup>3</sup> prajānā[m] hitakarasya śrī-Nandivarmma-mahārājasya [pautraḥ]<sup>4</sup>...  
 6 tr-ōpakār-āpakāra-apkāras-pratikārasya pratāp-ōpanata-sāmantasya prabhūta-prak[a]<sup>5</sup>...  
 7 dasya dvit-paksha-chaṇḍa-daṇḍasya mahārāj-Āchaṇḍavarmmaṇaḥ putrō bhagavach-Chitra<sup>6</sup>  
 8 nuddhyatō bappa-bhaṭṭaraka-pada-bhaktaḥ=parama-bhāgavataś=Śāṅkayana-varṇśa-prabhavo<sup>7</sup>  
 9 Vijaya-Nandivarmma Vacha[da]<sup>8</sup>—vishaya-mutuḍa Bhū[ta][tā[nḍa]ka<sup>9</sup>-grāmēyakān=[sama]jñāpaya<sup>10</sup>  
 10 [a]s[ma]t-kula-gōtr-<sup>11</sup> abhivṛddhayē- <sup>12</sup>[dhatuvara]...[daśabala-sukṛita-balinas=tyāga]<sup>13</sup>  
 11 <sup>14</sup>-bhagavatō Buddhasya śiṣhyāṇāṁ sa[dmanō] bhara[nārtham] shashthē[nḍri]y<sup>15</sup>-odbhut-ānubhūta<sup>16</sup>

1 What we have lost here are obviously the three syllables *śrī-Hastī*.

2 This mutilated expression may be restored as *hiranya-gō-bhu*.

3 The word *dharmma* is used here in the sense of 'merit' acquired by means of pious acts'. cf., the *sage of dharmma* in line 1 above signifying the pious acts themselves.

4 This word is mutilated. After this, we have perhaps lost some three syllables like *Ishan-mā*.

5 Some five or four letters we have lost here might have been *ma-dhana-pra*<sup>o</sup>.

6 The complete expression must have been originally *Chitraratha-svāmi-pād-ānudhyātō*.

7 What we have lost here is obviously *mahārāja-śrī-* (five syllables)

8 The reading of this name of the geographical unit is doubtful. *Va* is found in diminutive form above the preceding *°rmā*.

9 The reading of this village-name is also doubtful.

10 The six or seven syllables that are lost here could have been *tī | satī ch=āyam grāmah*.

11 The *Amarakōśa* recognises *kula* and *gōtra* as synonyms meaning 'family'. But this tautological peculiarity is almost invariably found in all the Śāṅkayana records, both Prakrit and Sanskrit.

12 These mutilated expressions in this line remind us of *dhātu-vara-parigṛhītasya* (above, Vol. XX, p. 18, inscription B4, line 3); and *daśa-bala-balinaḥ puṇya-jñāna-sambhāra-bhārasya* (VTT., p. 154). These are the epithets of the Buddha and of the *Buddha-saṅgha* as the case may be.

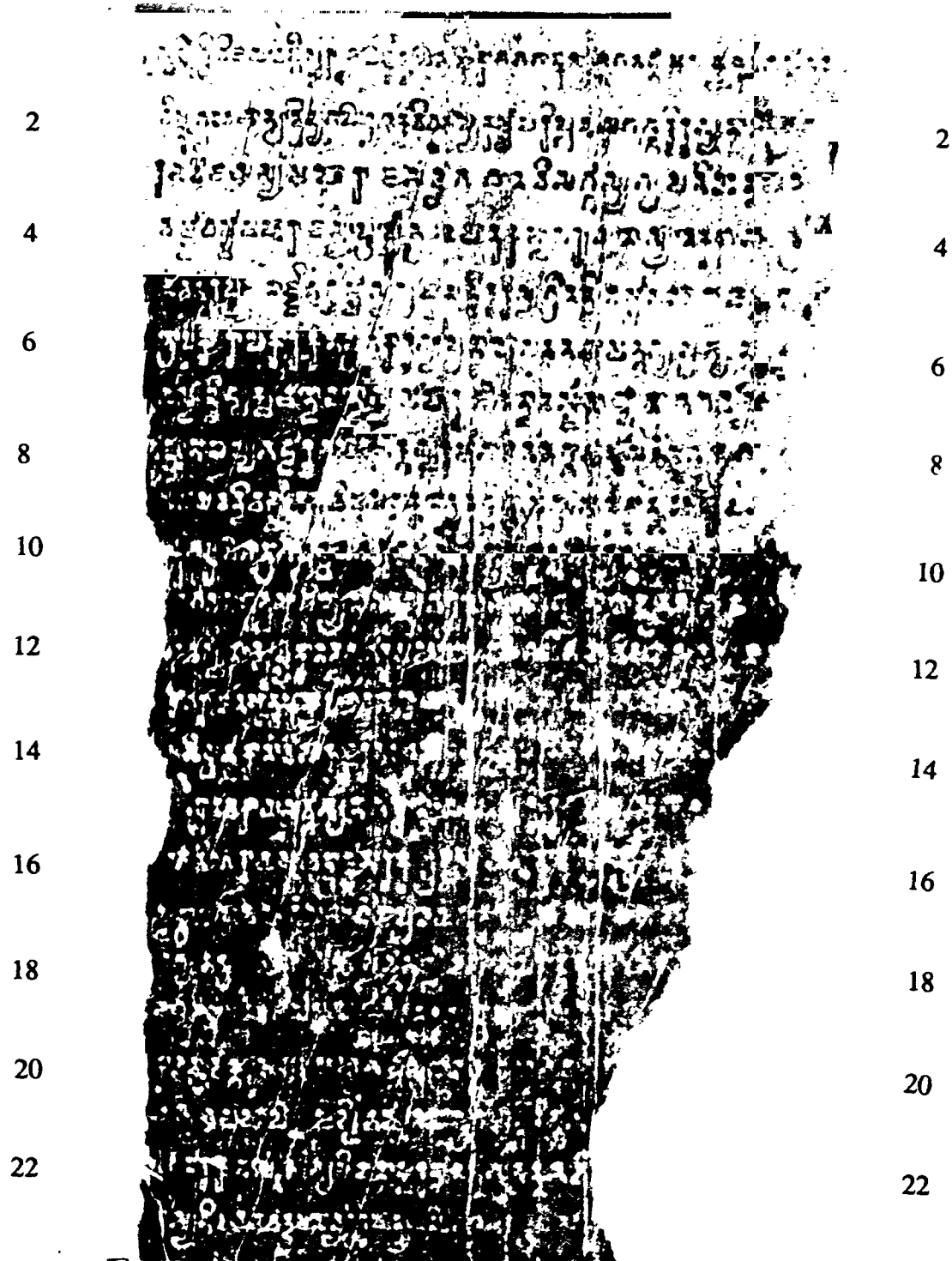
13 About eight to ten *aksharas* seem to have been lost here.

14 One letter is broken off and lost here.

15 *Shashthēndriya* is the same as *manas* 'mind, the internal organ'. Cf. *manas shashthān=īndriyāṇi* (*Bhagavadgītā*, 15.7).

16 Some seven *aksharas* seem to have been lost here.

# GUNTUPALLI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF ŚĀLĀNKĀYANA NANDIVARMAN





- 12 <sup>1</sup>-varshshinō=kshullak<sup>2</sup>-ānanda-sthavira-Vasupi[thāchāryyāya?] Na[ta]vishayē a<sup>3</sup>  
 13 <sup>-1</sup>[Nā?]garājēna ātmanah̐ punya-pratāpa-satya-yaśō<sup>4</sup>..... vihara-ni<sup>5</sup>  
 14 <sup>-1</sup>siddhārthakānāṁ vima . . <sup>6</sup>ritah̐..... . tō<sup>8</sup> ... . vāsi[nē]<sup>9</sup>-  
 15 <sup>-10</sup>sthānavarāya sarvva-bhūta-śaraṇāya<sup>11</sup>..... varishṭhāy=ō<sup>12</sup>-  
 16 <sup>-13</sup>[ya]tivarāya ā-chandr-ārka-tārakā-prithi<sup>14</sup>  
 17 <sup>-13</sup>[saddhāmasya] vihāra<sup>15</sup>. ...dāya-pradēyam<sup>16</sup>  
 18 <sup>-13</sup>dadhy=atakra<sup>-17</sup>..... sāmanta-bhaṭṭavara-[bhū-parihāraṁ]<sup>18</sup>.....  
 19 <sup>-19</sup>[ra]d-anghri [bhyah̐] Buddhasishyebhyah̐ sa<sup>20</sup> .....  
 20 <sup>-21</sup>kā dat[t]ā [saṁ] 4<sup>22</sup> iti || Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhu[kta bahu]bhiś=ch=anu<sup>23</sup>

- 
- 1 About two letters appear to have been lost here.  
 2 Or varshshin=ākshullak-  
 3 Here about four letters are damaged and thereafter some five or six syllables seem to have been broken off.  
 4 Some eight letters are much damaged here; and of them the first four might have been-<sup>9</sup>bhivṛddhayē.  
 5 Some five or six syllables seem to have been lost here; of them the first three could have been vāsinām.  
 6 I am unable to read some two letters here.  
 7 Some seven or eight letters are effaced after this.  
 8 About four letters are disfigured after this.  
 9 Some seven or six letters are broken off and lost.  
 10 Here some three aksharas are broken off and lost.  
 11 About six subsequent letters are obliterated.  
 12 Perhaps eight syllables are lost here.  
 13 Here some three aksharas are broken off and lost.  
 14 The intended expression is obviously-prithivī-samakālaṁ. About twelve letters are peeled off and thereafter some eight more aksharas might have been lost.  
 15 Some four letters are effaced here.  
 16 About eleven letters are effaced and thereafter some eight letters are lost.  
 17 Some five or six letters are disfigured here. Cf., the privilege a-harita-pamnāsaka-puppa-phala-duddha-dadhi-ghata-ggaharṁ mentioned in the Kānukollu plates of Nandivarman I (op. cit.), text lines 20-22.  
 18 About six aksharas are peeled off here and thereafter about eight to ten letters are lost.  
 19 About two letters are broken off here. The mutilated expression can be tentatively restored as vandyamāna-sphurad-anghribhyah̐.  
 20 The intended expression may be saṁpradattah̐. Here some eight letters are disfigured and thereafter eight or ten letters are broken off and lost.  
 21 One or two aksharas might have been lost here.  
 22 The heads of the two antennas of the ta-like symbol touch the top of the line. Hence one should not read here tō. Moreover the medial ō in the record is always represented by prishṭhamātrās and not by śirō-mātrās. Therefore, we have here only a symbol denoting 4 that can be compared with numerals denoting 4 in other epigraphs. The reading here can also be, as stated above, dattā 40 4. The reading of the next expression iti is purely conjectural. cf. the phraseology of pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē prathamē +++ dattā paṭṭikā and its cognates found in the Śālankāyana charters.  
 23 What we have lost here is - pālita | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya ta-

- 21 -<sup>1</sup>tadā phalam | [1 ||\*] Shasṭi-varshsha-sahasrā[ṇi svarggē ti-<sup>2</sup>  
 22 .....<sup>3</sup>narakē vasēt || [2 ||\*] Bhūmi-dānāt=paran=dānan=na bhūtan=na bhavi<sup>4</sup>  
 23 .<sup>5</sup>vishyati || [3 ||\*] Yathā chandramasō vṛiddhir=ahany=ahani [jāyatē | tathā] bhūmi-  
 kṛitaṁ pu-<sup>6</sup>

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1 The single letter that is lost here is evidently *sya*.

2 The rest of the verse in this line, can be restored as *shṭhati bhūmidah | ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha*.

3 Restore *tāny=ēva*.

4 The fourteen syllables we have lost here are *shyati | tasy=aiva harapāt=pāpan=na bhūtan=na*.

5 Restore *bha* here.

6 The rest of this verse is -*nyam sasyē sasyē vivarddhatē* ||

## No. 12—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KORRAPĀḌU

(2 Plates)

M.D. Sampath, Mysore

The two inscriptions<sup>1</sup> edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, were found engraved on two slabs built into the ceiling of the Śiva temple at Korrapāḍu in the Jammalamadugu Taluk, Cuddapah District, Andhra Pradesh during the year 1940-41. The texts of both these records have been published with brief introduction in the *Inscriptions of Cuddapah District*, Vol. I as Nos. 43 and 46. They are being re-edited here with improvements in reading in view of their interesting nature. They will be referred to hereunder as *A* and *B* for the sake of convenience. These two records are in Telugu-Kannaḍa characters, palaeographically assignable to the 8th century A.D. and their language is Telugu. Of these two inscriptions, the first one belongs to the reign period of Kirttivarman who is identical with the second king of that name in the Vatapi Chalukya family who is known to have ruled from 743 to 753 A.D.

As regards the **palaeography** of *A* some of the features are comparable to the Turimeḷḷa epigraph of Vikramāditya I.<sup>2</sup> In the case of *vā* in *vāri* (line 4), medial *ā* is indicated by a shaft at top of the letter as in *tā* occurring in the Turimeḷḷa epigraph. The letter *ē* in *ē/a* in line 9 is the only initial vowel found employed in this inscription. The cursive form of mute *l* occurs in *rājul* (line 10) and *maṛutul* (line 12).

Attention may be drawn to the occurrence of initial *a* and *i* (lines 1 and 3 respectively) in *B*. Other features are as found in *A*. In inscription *B*, lines 4 to 6 are written in perpendicular alignment to the earlier three lines.

*A* contains some words of **lexical** interest such as the archaic expressions *paṭṭu*<sup>3</sup> (lines 5 and 7) meaning either 'capital' or 'seat' or 'royal bestowal' or 'fief' and *pāla* meaning 'on behalf of'. In the record *B*, *sandhi* has not been observed in the case of Perbāṇa + adhirāju (line 1).

### A

It belongs to the reign period of Kirttivarman II who is endowed with the usual imperial titles. The inscription is not dated. It states that Bāṇarāju was administering Pambulgi on behalf of the emperor, that Perbāṇādhirāja was administering Lāvanūr on behalf of Bāṇarāju and that Kupppadiyara was administering Korrapāḍu on behalf of Perbāṇādhirāja.

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1 A.R.Ep., 1940-41, Nos. B 418 and 419.

2 Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 160 ff. and plate facing p. 162.

3 The term *paṭṭu* meaning 'capital' occurs in an inscription stated to be of a Telugu Chōḷa king. (See above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 232-33); A.R.Ep., 1964-65, No. B 24.

The **object** of the epigraph is to record the grant of 4 *maruturu* of land measured by the *rajamāna*<sup>1</sup> measure of the standard of thirteen extended arms at Korrapariti by Perbanadhiraja to the deity Aditya-bhāṭarar (Sun god).

### B

Inscription *B* introduces Perbana-adhirāju without any reference to his overlords. In this record, it is stated that he made a gift of one *maruturu* of land probably to a certain Rachamallu of Malavura. The gift seems to have been made on the occasion of an eclipse (*grahana*, not specified).

The mention of the Bānas as the feudatories of the Chalukya emperor Kirtivarman, and as administering on his behalf Pambulgi is of historical importance. It would be of interest to note that in a record at Chamaluru, one Bānarāju is mentioned as ruling Pāmbuliggi in the 22nd year of the reign of the king *Prithvivallabha* Vijayāditya.<sup>2</sup>

The reference to Bana chiefs in the various records of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi from Anantapur District, especially from the Tāḍapatri region, is of considerable importance. All these inscriptions belong to the reigns of Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya and Kirtivarman II.<sup>3</sup> One of these, belonging to the reign of Kirtivarman II, found at Chandana<sup>4</sup> and palaeographically assigned to c. 8th century mentions Bānarāja as ruling over Suramāra-vishaya (Turamāra-vishaya), a sub-division in the Gutti region of Anantapur District.

It is known that the Bānas, who were ruling over the region covered by the Ceded districts, which included this territory, were subjugated by the Chalukyas during the reign of Pulakeśin II.<sup>5</sup> The main branch of the Bāna family, called Bṛihad-Bāna,<sup>6</sup> from whom the first Kadamba king Mayuraśarman (c. 332-57 A.D.) levied tribute, migrated from their ancestral dominions to further south, to the Pallava dominions, where they once again paid allegiance to the Pallavas. But, nevertheless, scions of the main family viz., the Perbāna family, to which the members settled in the Ceded districts are known to have belonged, continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chalukyas as revealed by Vijayāditya's Kotturu inscription.<sup>7</sup> Another record of Vijayāditya at Dānavulapāḍu<sup>8</sup> refers to one Bhūpāditya who has been identified with Bhujangadi Bhūpāditya of the Perbāna family figuring in the

1 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 206-07. It is stated that the mention of *rajamāna* implies a strong central administration. It may be noted that this expression occurs in a similar context in an early Telugu record of 7th century from Uruturu in Cuddapah District. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 229).

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 242.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 331 ff.

4 *A.R. Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 17. Above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 340.

5 Above, Vol. XI, pp. 230-34 and Vol. XXX, p. 70.

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 32, verse 15.

7 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 69 ff. and plate.

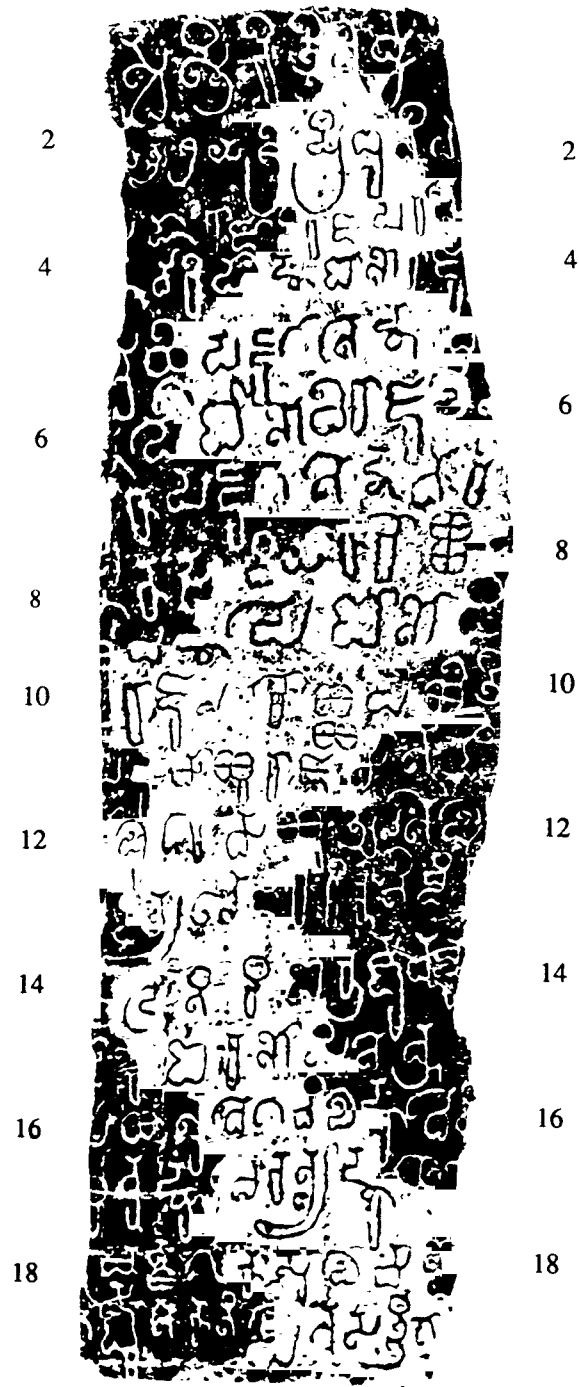
8 *A.R. Ep.*, 1905, No. 339, *S I L.*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 49.





TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KORRAPĀDU—PLATE I

(A)



Arakaṭavēmula inscription of Śrīvallabha (i.e., Vikramaditya I).<sup>1</sup> A fragmentary record from Peddapasupula in the Cuddapah District<sup>2</sup> mentions a chief Bhūpāditya as the ruler of Rēnāḍu. Though the name of the overlord of this chief is not recorded in the above inscription, yet it may be surmised that he is identical with his namesake who figures in the Arakaṭavēmula and Dānavulapaḍu epigraphs. In the Arakaṭavēmula and the Chilamakūru inscriptions, there is reference to the Perbaṇa family (*Per-Baṇavamśa*). Our epigraphs also make a specific reference to the title *Per-Banadhiraja* held by the Bana chiefs.

The place Pambulgi<sup>3</sup> has been identified with Hāvalige in the Gooty Taluk of Anantapur District. It was once the capital of a branch of the Baṇa family as early as the period of Vijayaditya (696-733 A.D.) of the Chalukya family. Lavanur, the place of rule of the chief Perbanādhiraju, may be identified with its namesake in Jammalamadugu Taluk of Cuddapah District. It is on the Kadiri Road, located about seven miles from the confluence of Chitrāvati and Peṇṇār rivers. The village Korrapariti and Maḷavura, from where the lands have been granted, can be identified respectively with Korrapaḍu and Maḷuvur. A village of the latter name is mentioned in Nerur plates of Vijayaditya as having been granted by Chalukya Vikramaditya II.<sup>4</sup>

## A.

TEXT<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti [ I\*]Kirtti<sup>6</sup>varmma<sup>6</sup>-
- 2 Satyaśraya-śrī-Pri(Pri)thu(thi)viva[llabha]-
- 3 [ma\*]harajadi(dhi)raja-parame[śvaru\*]
- 4 [la]<sup>7</sup> vari paḷa Banaraju [l Pām]-
- 5 [bu]lgi paṭṭugan=ela vari[pa\*]-
- 6 [la] Perbanādhiraju La[va\*]-
- 7 [nu]ru paṭṭugan=ela vari[pa\*]-
- 8 la<sup>8</sup> Kuppadiyaru Korrapa-
- 9 [ru] eḷa Perbanādhi-
- 10 rajul Korrapariti

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1 A.R.Ep., 1906, No. 474, Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 243, foot-note Nos. 5 and 6

2 A.R.Ep., 1940-41, No. 339

3 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 242-44, A.R.Ep., 1964-65, Introduction, p. 9

4 Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 133, Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. I, p. 373

5 From ink impression

6 The *repha* sign in conjunct letter is clear

7 In *la*, the stroke of the lower loop alone is visible with slight traces of the *talakattu*

8 Only a part of the letter is seen

- 11 pa[du]<sup>1</sup> [mā]ru rājamāna[mbu\*]  
 12 nālugu maṛutul nēla-  
 13 [n=Ā]<sup>2</sup>ditya-bhaṭararikkin=ichchi[ri\*]  
 14 [dēniki] bakrambu<sup>3</sup> vachchu-  
 15 [vā]nṛu baraṇāsi<sup>4</sup> vēvru  
 16 [pā]raṇu[m] vē-gavilaḷu[m] vē-se-  
 17 [ru]vuḷu[m] vē-kannyāḷu[m] la[chchi\*]-  
 18 [na]vanṛagu [ ]\* Kusala maṇḍa-  
 19 [ga]<sup>6</sup>mbunaku nilpina sattigā<sup>6</sup>

## B.

TEXT<sup>7</sup>

- 1 Svasti [ ]\* Śrī Perbaṇa-adhirāju  
 2 Maḷavura Rācha[mallu]  
 3 maṛuttuḷu nēla ichchiri grahaṇa  
 4 dēniki vakrabu vachchu-  
 5 vānṛu pañcha-ma  
 6 hāpātaka(ku)nṛagu [ ]\*

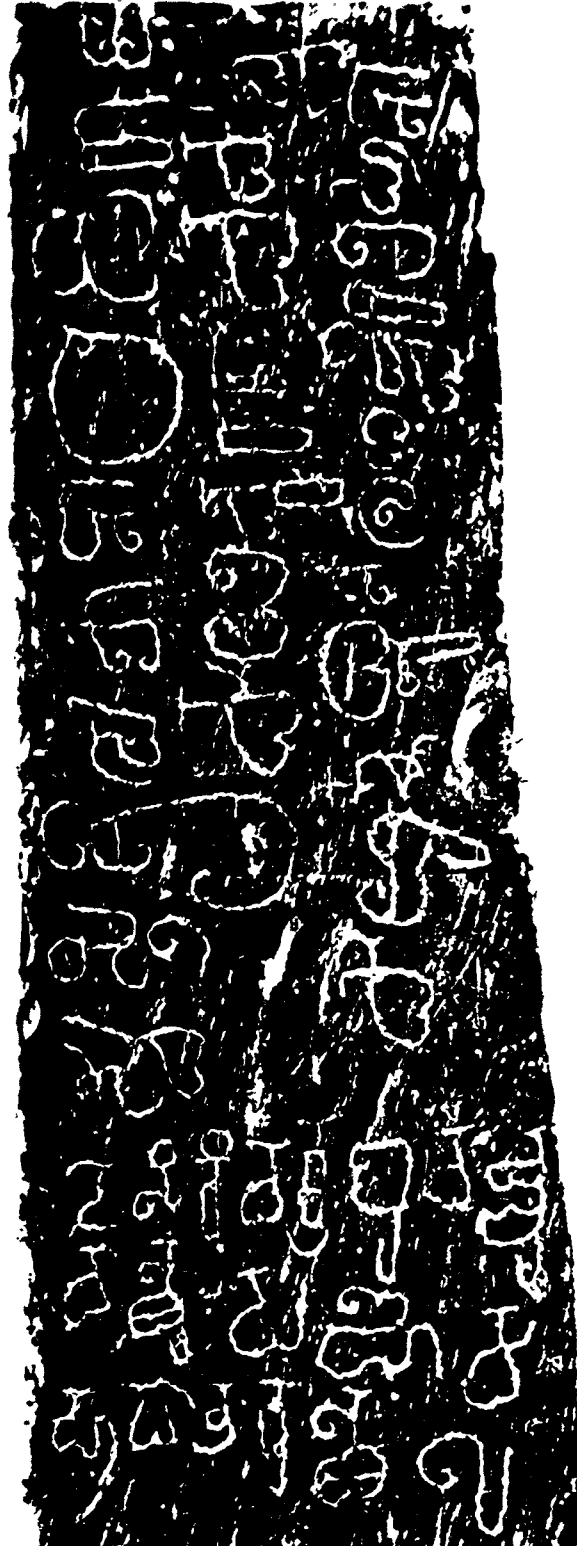
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1 This letter is not clearly engraved  
 2 The curve for *n* length in *n=Āditya* is slightly seen  
 3 Read as *vakrambu*. cf. Above, Vol. XXX, p. 16  
 4 Read as *bāraṇāsi*.  
 5 May also be read as /a.  
 6 Stops here.  
 7 From ink impressions

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KORRAPĀDU—PLATE II

(B)

2



4

6

4

6



## No. 13—CHANUGONḌLA INSCRIPTION OF RĀCHEYARĀJU

(1 Plate)

S.S. Ramachandramurthy, Mysore

The subjoined inscription, edited with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore is found engraved on a pillar in the Nāgalingēśvarsvāmi temple at Chanugonḍla, Kurnool Taluk and District, Andhra Pradesh. It has been noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1960-61, as No. 28 of Appendix B.

The epigraph is engraved in Telugu language and characters of the 10th century. **Palaeographical** features are regular for the period and do not call for any special remarks. Initial vowels ā (line 8), i (lines 2, 3 and 13) and ī (line 9) occur in this record. The following **orthographical** features are noteworthy. The expression *velgaḍu* (dry land, line 4), as a type of land is very interesting in that the suffix *gaḍu* may be compared with its counterpart in *rēgaḍu* which also denotes a different type of land. The term *gaḍu* is the same as the Telugu word *kaḍa*, meaning 'ground', 'place' etc. The word *velgaḍu* occurs in later inscriptions as *veli-nēla* or *veli-volamu*, the suffix *gaḍu* being replaced by *nēla* or *vo* (or *po*) *lamu*, which also mean the same. It may be noted that class nasal is used in the place of *anusvara* throughout the inscription, except in the expressions *ta(tā)rakambu* (line 8) and *Bhalasimgha* (line 14) where *anusvāra* is used. The nominative suffix in the expression *Nāgēśvarammu* (line 1) deserves attention in that the more usual form occurring in this period is *°mbu*, as seen in *°tāarakambu* (line 8) in the present inscription itself. The use of *um* as conjunctive suffix in *Bharanasiyum=ālisina* (lines 11-12) is an early feature.

The record is not dated but may be assigned to the 10th century on the basis of palaeography as has already been stated.

The inscription opens with the auspicious word *svasti* and proceeds to record the grant of land to Śrī-Nāgēśvarambu, i.e., the temple of the god Nāgēśvara by a certain Rācheyarāju (lines 1-2). Lines 3-8 give details about the extent of land so granted which are as follows: *rēgaḍu* (black cotton soil) : 20 *maṟuturu*; *velgaḍu* (dry land) : 10 *maṟuturu*; *tinṇla-vari-chēnu*<sup>1</sup>: 12 *maṟuturu* and *kasila-chēnu*:<sup>2</sup> 9 *maṟuturu*. Reference to the last two types of lands during

1 While *vari-chēnu* means 'paddy field', the meaning of the prefix *tinṇla-* is not clear. However, it may be suggested that it may mean land yielding a thick or nutritious variety of rice. cf Kittel's Kan-Eng. Dictionary wherein is given the word *dindu* which means among other things 'stout, thick, nutritious', etc.

2 By *kasila-chēnu* is perhaps meant 'a field from which underground water was oozing out. cf Kittel *op cit.*, wherein the word *kasi* is given the meaning of 'to ooze, to tackle, to flow'

this period is an uncommon feature. Line 9 specifies that the gift-land is situated in (the village) Chedullakunḍa. Lines 10-13 contain the usual imprecatory passage. Lines 13-14 state that a certain Bhalasimgha-bhaṭaralu was the owner of the land, implying probably that the gift-land was entrusted to his care. The figure of *linga* and the figure of couchant bull facing the *linga* are engraved at the bottom of the slab intercepting the letters in the last line.

The main interest of the inscription lies in the fact that it refers to a certain Rācheyarāju as the donor. Taking the characters and provenance of the record into consideration we may identify Rācheyarāju with one of the subordinate chiefs of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III (939-66/67 A.D.) whose empire included the Cuddapah-Kurnool region in Andhra Pradesh. An inscription<sup>1</sup> from Nāyakallu (Kurnool District), dated Śaka 880 (967 A.D.), belonging to the reign of Akalavarsha Prithvivallabha (i.e., Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III), refers to *mahāsāmanta Nanni-salukki* Rāchamalla as a ruling chief. It is obvious that he belonged to the Chalukya stock and that he was ruling the Kurnool region as a subordinate of his imperial master Kṛishṇa III. The characters and provenance of the present inscription as also the similarity between the names Rāchamalla and Rācheyarāju tempt us to identify Rācheyarāju with Rāchamalla of the Nāyakallu inscription. In this context it may be noted that Chanugonḍla, the findspot of the inscription in question and Nāyakallu are both situated in the Kurnool Taluk itself and that they are not far from each other. That the chiefs belonging to the Chalukya lineage were serving the Rāshtrakūṭas as their subordinates is evidenced by many inscriptions apart from the Nāyakallu epigraph referred to above. The Ballatgi (Dhawwar District, Karnataka) inscription,<sup>2</sup> belonging to the second half of the 8th century, refers to a certain Balavarmma who is described as *Chalukya-kula-ti[la\*]ka* and who is identified with his namesake referred to in Vāḍapalli (Nalgonda District, Andhra Pradesh) and Korrapaḍu<sup>3</sup> (Cuddapah District, Andhra Pradesh) inscriptions and in a copper-plate charter of Gōvinda III<sup>4</sup> and is taken to be a subordinate of the Rāshtrakūṭa king. A *mahāsāmanta* Katyara of the Chalukya family is referred to as ruling Kōgaḷi-500 and Māsiyavāḍi-140 as a subordinate chief of Kannaradeva (i.e., Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III) in an inscription from Bagali (Bellary District, Karnataka), dated 944-45 A.D.<sup>5</sup> However, the final identification of Rācheyarāju of our inscription with Rāchemalla of the Nāyakallu inscription will have to await further epigraphical corroboration.

The only **geographical** name that occurs in this inscription is Chedullakunḍa and it is identical with the findspot of the record.

1 *A R. Ep.*, 1952-53, No. B 290 and Intro p. 14

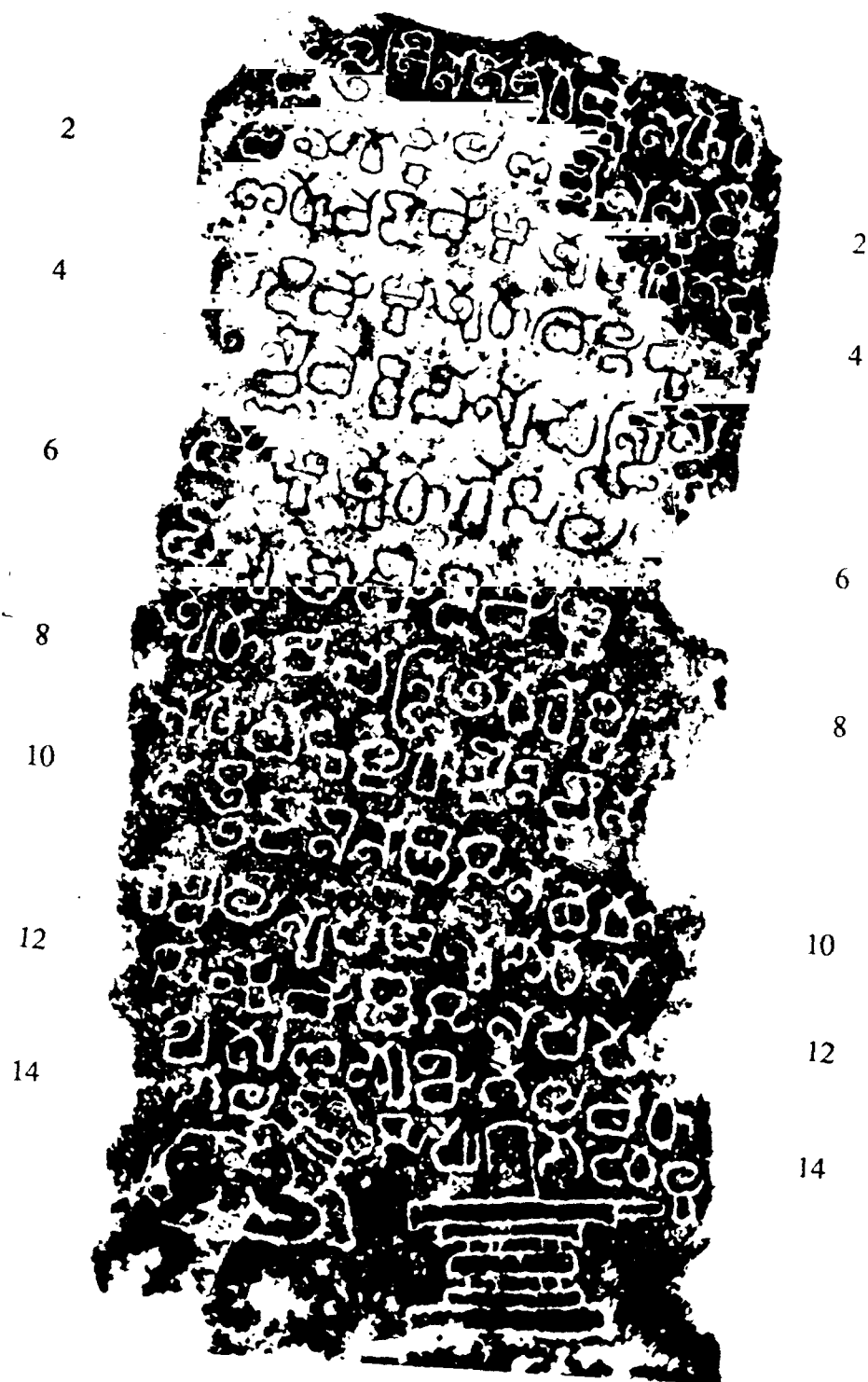
2 *Ibid.*, 1961-62, No. B 547 Here the name of Balavarmma was wrongly read as Kalivarmma.

3 *Ibid.*, 1940-41, Nos. B 421, 422 and 424; *Ibid.*, 1941-42, No. E 46. Also above, Vol. XLII, p. 182 and plate.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 11 ff. The genuineness of this charter is not above suspicion.

5 *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 64

CHANUGONDLA INSCRIPTION OF RĀCHEYARĀJU







TEXT <sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti [ ||\*] Śri-Na(Nā)gēśvarammunaku R[a]-
- 2 cheyarājula ichchina bhūmi
- 3 iruvadi maṛuturu rēgaḍu
- 4 padi maṛuturu velgaḍu
- 5 tiṇṇla-vari-chēnu paṇḍrenḍu
- 6 maṛuturu kasila-
- 7 chēnu tomidi maṛu-
- 8 turu ā-chandra-ta(tā)rakam̐bu-
- 9 na ī Cheḍullakuṇḍan-ichchina
- 10 datti [ ||\*] dinin=aḷisinavaru<sup>2</sup>
- 11 kavilānu pa(pā)ṛānu Bha(Vā)raṇa(ṇā)-
- 12 siyum=aḷisina pa(pā)pa-
- 13 m̐b-āgu [ ||\*] ī bhūmi galava(vā)ru
- 14 Bhalasim̐gha-bhaṭaralu [ ||\*]

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1 From inked estampages

2 Read - °vāṛiki.

## No. 14—NĀLANDĀ INSCRIPTION OF DHARMMAPĀLADĒVA, YEAR 4

(1 Plate)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

The inscription edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore was discovered during the excavations conducted at Nālandā in 1977. It is engraved on a votive stone *stūpa* below which are engraved the figures of the Buddhas in *dhyāna-mudra* or *bhūmiśparśa-mudrā*. The inscription is in two lines. The average size of the letters is 1.2 cm. On the left side of line 1 is carved in relief the figure of a *dharma-chakra* flanked on either side by an elephant with its trunk raised up in adoration. The elephant in Buddhist mythology represents the Buddha and recently a painting of an elephant with an inscription engraved on it<sup>1</sup> was discovered in the same place on the pedestal of a colossal broken statue of the Buddha<sup>2</sup> very near the votive stone *stūpa* on which the present inscription is engraved. This carving, however, is unique and not so far met with in Nalanda for, in the seals discovered from that place, representations of the *dharma-chakra*, flanked on either side by a deer, are generally seen and it has been interpreted as indicating the Buddha's first sermon at Sarnath.<sup>3</sup> It is also incidentally the emblem of the Palas of Bengal. Only in some seals where Gajalakshmi is represented, an elephant flanking on either side of the goddess is found.<sup>4</sup> Above the second line, on a portion of the stone which has been slightly raised up to form a border, a row of lotuses is engraved in relief. The inscription has been published by Shri V. Mishra.<sup>5</sup> Since the reading of the text given by him is incomplete and faulty, the same is being re-edited from a fresh set of estampages taken during my visit to Nalanda in March 1979.<sup>6</sup>

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit which is not free from errors of grammar and orthography. The **characters** belong to the East Indian variety of the Proto-Nāgari script of about the 8th century A.D. and they can be compared with those of another inscription of Dharmmapala from Nalanda itself.<sup>7</sup> The **palaeographical** features do not call for any special remarks.

- 
- 1 The first line of the inscription reads as *śrīprachanda-hastī* (the impetuous elephant) probably referring to the painting of the elephant on which it is engraved (see *AR Ep.*, 1978-79, No. B 42). The representation of elephant is seen as early as the time of Aśoka symbolising the Buddha as found in Girnār, Kālsī and Dhauhī (See *Inscriptions of Aśoka* by D C Sircar, p. 16).
  - 2 This appears to be the same image that was caused to be installed by Pūrnavarman *alias* Prathamaśiva in the 7th-8th centuries A.D. (*AR Ep.*, 1975-76, No. B 72, above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 117 f).
  - 3 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 290.
  - 4 *MAI*, No. 66, p. 49, No. S 1, 794.
  - 5 *QJMS.*, Vol. LXVIII, pp. 45 ff.
  - 6 This has been noticed in the *AR Ep.*, 1978-79 as No. B 41.
  - 7 *MAI*, No. 66, pp. 85 ff.

NĀLANDĀ INSCRIPTION OF DHARMAPĀLADEVA, YEAR 4

(A)

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय नमः नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय नमः नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय नमः

(B)

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय नमः नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय नमः नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय नमः

(C)

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय नमः नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय नमः नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय नमः

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय नमः

Scale One-Half

Ep Ind , Vol. XLII



The inscription begins with a symbol standing for the auspicious word *siddham*. It may be noted that the same symbol is repeated at the beginning of line 2 wherein it either merely signifies the commencement of a fresh line or may be indicative of the commencement of the effective portion of the text. Then follows the usual Buddhist formula *ye dhamma hetu prabhava*, etc. The inscription thereafter refers itself to the reign of Dharmmapaladeva who is no doubt identical with the Pala king of the same name who flourished in the 8th century A.D. Then follows the date of the record which is given as the 4th year of the reign of Dharmmapala, Vaiśakha purn̄ṇima.<sup>1</sup> After this, the purport of the record is given which is, however, left incomplete.<sup>2</sup> It is stated that a goldsmith (*survarṇnakara*) by name Vajjaka did something for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings beginning with his parents. The act which Vajjaka did could probably be conjectured as the construction of the miniature votive *stupa* on which the present epigraph is engraved.

Two other inscriptions of Dharmmapala are already known from Nalanda.<sup>3</sup> But this inscription is interesting since it is the only dated epigraph of Dharmmapala from Nalanda. It is known that Dharmmapala had to face great adversaries viz., the Pratihara king Vatsaraja and the Rashtrakūṭa king Dharavarsha in the early part of his reign.<sup>4</sup> The present epigraph shows that the region around Nalanda was under the sway of Dharmmapala in the 4th year of his reign.

#### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>6</sup> [||\*] Ye dhamma hetu prabhava hetum ta(tē)shan=tathagato ha (hy=a) vvam (va)[dat\*] tesham cha yo nirōdha evam vadi mahāśramana[h\*] [||\*]
- 2 <sup>7</sup>Śrī Dharmmapra(pa)ladeva-vijaya-rajye samvat 4 Vou(Vai)śakha purn̄ṇamasah || Su(Su)varṇnakara || Vajjakasya<sup>8</sup> matā-pi(pi)trī-pūrvāṅgamam<sup>9</sup> kṛitva sakala-satva(ttva)-raśe-nratta<sup>10</sup>

- 
- 1 This day is very important in the Buddhist Calendar, known as a thrice sacred day being the day of birth, awakening and death of the Buddha
  - 2 The word *deya-dharmmo=yam* has been omitted in the inscription
  - 3 Nālandā plate of Dharmmapāladeva (Above, Vol XXIII, pp 290 ff.) ; Fragmentary stone inscription of Dharmmapāladeva (MASI., No. 66, p. 85 ff.).
  - 4 *History of Bengal* (ed by R C. Majumdar)
  - 5 From impressions
  - 6 Expressed by a symbol.
  - 7 On the left side is engraved another *Siddham* symbol, as in the beginning of line 1, indicating the commencement of line 2.
  - 8 Read *deya-dharmmo=yam* to complete the sense
  - 9 Read *mātā-pitrin-purvāṅgamam*.
  - 10 Read <sup>c</sup>*rāśer=anuttara-jñān-āvāptaye*

## No. 15—DANA PLATES OF DHRUVASĒNA(II) BĀLĀDITYA, YEAR 314

(2 Plates)

*S.P. Tewari, Mysore*

A set of photographs of the copper-plate inscription edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was received in his office in 1980 from the Director of Archaeology, Gujarat State, Ahmedabad. As per the information provided by the said Director of Archaeology, the plates were discovered at the village Dana, Kapadvanaj Tahsil, Kaira District, Gujarat, sometime in the year 1979.

The plates are two in number having writing on the inner sides only and measuring roughly 33 cm × 26 cm each with raised edges all round for the protection of the writing. There are two round holes at the bottom side of the first and the top side of the second plate for the rings, holding the plates together, to pass through. From the photograph of the seal supplied to us separately, it may be safely concluded that one of the rings had a seal attached to it. On the countersunk surface of the seal is the legend *śri-Bhaṭakkaḥ* which is separated from the figure probably of a bull on the upper half of the seal by two horizontal lines running parallel to each other. Information about the weight of the plates is not available to us. The edges of the lower right and left corners of the first plate and the top left corner as well as the lower right corner of the second plate are broken away, resulting in the loss of a few letters which can, however, be easily restored. Except a few lines at the top of both the first and second plates and some more letters along the left margin of the first plate and the left and right margins of the second plate which are somewhat worn out the rest of the writing is well preserved. There are respectively 22 and 21 lines of writing on the first and second plates. The lines are generally straight and the letters equal in size. As regards the **palaeography, language, orthography**, style and the general appearance of the plates, they have much in common with the published and well-known charters of the king Dhruvasena II Baladitya and, therefore, do not call for any special remarks.

The charter was issued from Valabhi by king Dhruvasēna(II) Baladitya who is introduced in lines 1-32, in the style of his other records, as the younger brother of Dharasena(III), son of Kharagraha(I) who was the younger brother of Śiladitya(I) Dharmāditya, son of Dharasena(II), who was the son of Guhasena, a descendant of Bhaṭārka of the Maitraka dynasty.

The grant is dated in the Gupta Valabhi year 314 (633-34 A.D.), Mārgaśīra, ba. 12 which is important for the fact that it fills in the gap in Dhruvasena's reign from 313 to 319 (i.e., 632-638 A.D.). As noticed by the scholars earlier,<sup>1</sup> the records of the time of Dhruvasena, though fairly regular in occurrence before the year 313 and after the year 319, leave a gap of six years (i.e., from the year 313 to the year 319) in between for which period no record of the king was hitherto found. And this non-availability of the records for these years had given rise to the surmise that probably this interval was marked by confusion resulting from

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1 See, *Ancient History of Saurāshtra* by K J Virji, pp 72-73 and the appendices V F

the invasion of the Valabhi kingdom by Harsha and its aftermath.<sup>1</sup> Now the discovery of our record of the year 314 not merely fills in the gap between the years 313 and 319, but also disproves any claim that Harsha's invasion had rendered Dhruvasēna's authority ineffective. In this case, the expression *śrī-Dhruvasēnaḥ kuśali* (lines 32-33) of our record, though stereotyped and conventional, is also meaningful.

The main **object** of the inscription is to register the grant of the village Dayantaka, included in Mahishaka-padraka of Khētakāhāra-vishaya, in favour of the *brāhmaṇa* Bhaṭṭi Vishṇu, son of Bhaṭṭisvāmi, belonging to... gōtra and the Bahvricha-śākhā (lines 34-35) who was the resident of Ānarttapura. The grant was a permanent one and carried with it the privileges usually attached to such gifts as recorded in the copper-plate charters of the Maitrakas. It may, however, be noticed that the boundaries of the gift village Dayantaka are not enumerated in the record.

The executor of the grant was *sāmanta* Śilāditya (line 42) who is generally identified with prince Śilāditya, the son of Dērabhaṭṭa of the Vindhya region.<sup>2</sup> He is already known to have officiated as *dūtaka* upto the year 319 (638-39 A.D.) falling in Dhruvasēna's reign. The document was written by *sandhivigrahādhikṛita divirapati* Vattrabhaṭṭi (line 42-43) who is already known as the writer of many other grants of the Maitraka rulers like Śilāditya I, Kharagraha I and Dharasēna III,<sup>3</sup> and whose name has often been wrongly quoted as Vatapbhaṭṭi,<sup>4</sup> Chandrabhaṭṭi,<sup>5</sup> Vaśabhaṭṭi,<sup>6</sup> Vaśabhaṭa<sup>7</sup> and Chatrabhaṭṭi<sup>8</sup> also. The present charter is probably one of the last, if not the last, written by Vattrabhaṭṭi, for the records of Dhruvasēna issued from the year 319 onwards are found written by Skandabhaṭṭa, the son of Vattrabhaṭṭi. Hitherto, since the last grant written by Vattrabhaṭṭi belonged to the year 313 it was thought by the scholars that, Skandabhaṭṭa took over the office of *lekha* from him as early as about 314 (633-34 A.D.).<sup>9</sup> But from our record it is made clear that Vattrabhaṭṭi was very much in office till the year 314.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the charter under review, Ānarttapura, of which the donee was a resident, has been identified by some with the well-known Dvaraka and by others with Ānandapura (Vaṇnagar), Mehsana District, Gujarat.<sup>10</sup> Ānarttapura is mentioned in the Amreli Museum Plates of Dhruvasēna,<sup>11</sup> also as the place where the donee of that charter resided. Inscriptions belonging to dynasties other than the Maitraka mention

1 K.J. Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

3 Bhandarkar's list Nos. 1340, 1342, 1346 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, No. 1337.

5 *Ibid.*, No. 1338.

6 *Ibid.*, No. 1341.

7 *Ibid.*, Nos. 1349, 1351.

8 *Ibid.*, No. 1345.

9 Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

10 cf. N.L. Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 1953, p. 506 and note.

11 Above, Vol. XXXV, pp 283-86 lines 34-35



a region called Ānartta which is generally located in North Gujarat.<sup>1</sup> It is likely that Ānarttapura of the Amreli Museum Plates as also the present charter, is a place situated in the Ānartta region. Its name Ānarttapura is perhaps suggestive of its having been the principal town of that region.

Another geographical name occurring in our record is Khēṭakahāra-vishaya which is also referred to in some other Maitraka charters and generally identified with the region around modern Kheḍa<sup>2</sup>, the headquarters of the Kaira District in Gujarat. In the same way Mahishaka-padraka may be identified with the present Mahisha in the same District, and it finds mention in other records as Mahishabali situated in Khēṭakahāra in Surāshtra. About the actual identity of the village Dayantaka it is difficult to be sure, but it is not unlikely that the present village Dana or Dena, from where the charter has been acquired, is the same as Dayantaka.

The date of the record, as pointed out above, is quoted in the last line (line 43) as the 12th day of the dark fortnight of Margaśira in the year 300+10+4 which is followed by the conventional endorsement *svahastō mama*.

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

##### *First Plate*

- 1 Siddham<sup>5</sup> [||\*] Svasti[|] Valabhitaḥ prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇām Maitrakāṇām=atula-bala-sampanna-maṇḍal-ābhōga-saṁsakta-prahāra-śata-labdha-
- 2 pratāpāt=pratāp-opanata-[dā]na-mān=arjjav-ōparjjit-ānurāgād=anurakta-maula-bhṛita-śrēṇi-bal=āvapta-rājya-śriyaḥ para-
- 3 ma-māhēśvarāt śri-Bhaṭārkkād=avyavachchhinna-rāja-vanśān=mātā<sup>6</sup>-pitṛi-charaṇ-araviṇḍa(nda)-praṇati-pravidhaut-āśeṣha-kalmashaś=śaiśavāt=prabhṛiti
- 4 khaḍga-dvitiya-bāhur=ēva samada-para-gaja-bhaṭ-āspḥōtana-prakāśita-satva(ttva)-nikashas=tat=prabhāva-praṇat-ārāti-chūḍā-ratna-
- 5 prabhā-saṁsakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-saṁhati<sup>7</sup> sakala-smṛiti-praṇita-mārgga-samyak-paripālana-prajā-hṛīdaya-rañjan=ānvartha-rā-
- 6 ja-śabdō r[ū]pa-kānti-sthairyya-gambhīryya-buddhi-sampadbhiḥ smara-śaśāṅk-ādīrāj-ōdadhi-Tridaśaguru-Dhanēśan=atiśayanaś=śara-

1 See eg., the Gwalior Prasasti of Bhōja, above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 99 ff

2 Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 306

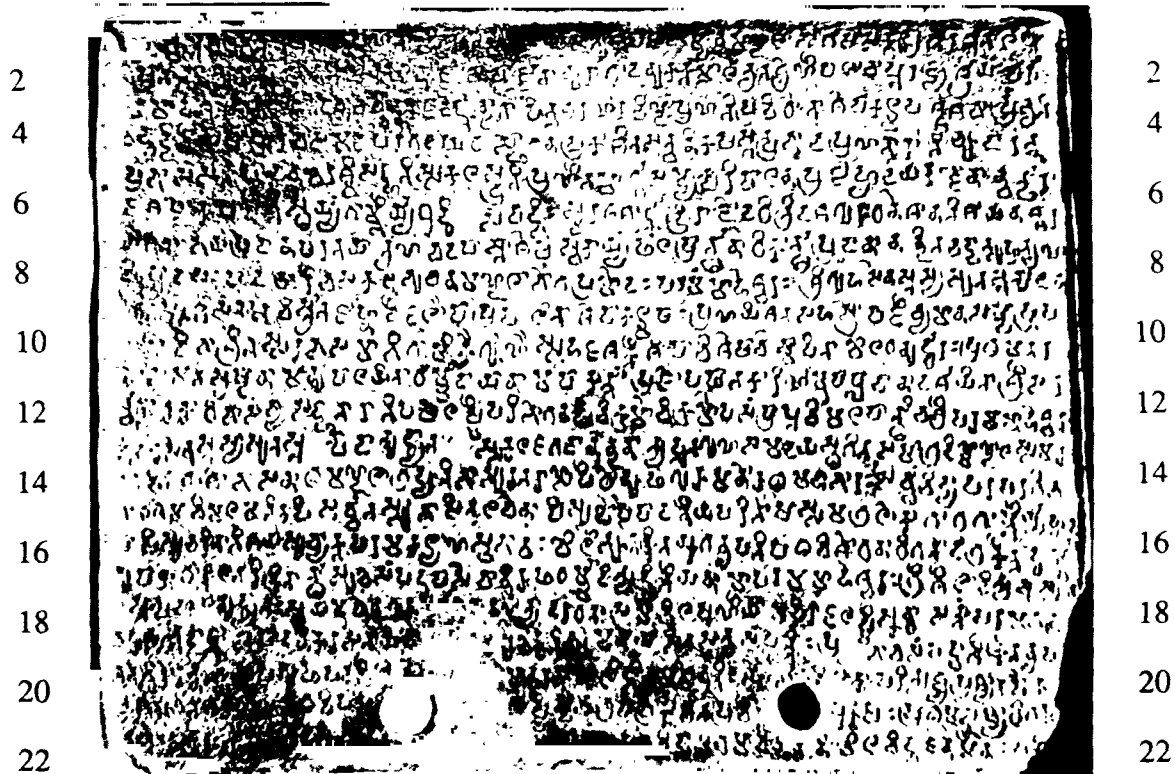
4 From the photographs.

5 Expressed by symbol

6 Read °vamśān=mātā.°

7 Read *saṁhatīś*=

DANA PLATES OF DHRUVASĒNA (II) BĀLĀDITYA,  
YEAR 314—PLATE I





- 7 ṇ-āgat-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā triṇavad=apāst-āsēsha-svakāryya-phala-prārthan-ādhik-ārtha-pradān-anandita-va(vi)dvat-suhṛit-praṇa-
- 8 yi-hṛidayah pādachār=īva sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-pramōdah parama-māhēśvarah śrī-Guhasēnas=tasya sutas=tat=pāda-na-
- 9 kha-mayūkha-santāna-vistṛita-Jāhnavi-jal=augha-prakshālīt-āsēsha-kalmashah prañayi-śata-sahasr=ōpajivyamāna-sampad=rūpa-
- 10 [lōbha]d=iv=āsritas=sa-rabhasam=abhigāmikair=guṇais=sahaja-śakti(kti)-śikṣhā-viśēsha(sha)-vismāpit-ākhila-dhanurddharah prathama-nara-
- 11 pati-samatisṛiṣṭānām=anupālayitā dharmma-dāyānām=apākartta praj-ōpaghatakāriṇām=upaplavāna[m\*] darśayitā Śrī-Sara-
- 12 svatyōr=ēk-ādhivāsasya saṇhat<sup>1</sup>-ārāti-paksha-lakshmi-paribhōga-daksha-vikramō vikram-ōpasamprāpta-vimala-pārthiva-śrīh paramamāhēśvarah
- 13 śrī-Dharasēnas=tasya sutas=tat=pādānudhyātas=sakala-jagad-ānandan-ātyadbhuta-guṇa-sama(mu)daya-sthagita-samagra-dīnmaṇḍalas<sup>2</sup>=samara-
- 14 śata-vijaya-śōbhā-sanātha-maṇḍal-āgra-dyuti-bhāsuratarāṇsa<sup>3</sup>-piṭh-ōdūḍha-guru-manōratha-mahābhārah sarvva-vidyā-par-āpara-vibhā-
- 15 g-ādhigama-vimala-matir=api sarvvatas=subhāshita-lavēn=āpi sukh-ōpapā-daniya-paritōshas=samagra-lōk=āgādha-gāmbhīryya-hṛida-
- 16 yō=pi sucharit-ātiśaya-suvyā(vya)kta-parama-kalyāṇa-svabhāvah khilabhūta-Kri(Kṛi)ta-yuga-nṛipati-patha-viśōdhan=ādhigat=ōdagra-kīrttir=ddharmm-ā-
- 17 nuparōdh-ōjjvalatari-kri(kṛi)tārtha-sukha-sampad-upā(upa)sēva-nirūḍhā-Dharmmaditya-dvitiya-nāma paramamāhēśvarah śrī-Śilādityas=tasy=ā[nu]-
- 18 jas=tat=pād-ānudhyātaḥ svayam=Upēndra-guruṇ=ēva guruṇ=ātyādaradha(va)tā samabhilashanīyām=api rājalakshmi[m\*] skandh-āsaktām parama-bhadra [i]-
- 19 va dhuryyas= tad-ājñā-sa(sam)pādan=aika-rasatay=aiv=ōdvahan=khēda-sukha-ratibhyām=anāyāsita-satva(ttva)-sampattiḥ prabhāva-sampad-vaśikṛita-nṛipa[ti]-
- 20 śata-śirō-ratna-chchhāy-ōpagūḍha-pāda-piṭhō=pi [par-āvajñ-ā]bhīmāna-rasān-ālīngita-manō-vṛittiḥ prañatim=ēkām parityajya prakhyāta-pauru[sh-ā]-
- 21 [stra-kauśal-ātiśaya]-gaṇatitha-vipaksha-kshitipati-lakshmi-svāyamgraha-prakāśita-pravīra-purushah prathama-saṅkhy=ādhigama[h pa]-
- 22 ramamāhēśvarah śrī-Kharagrahas=tasya tanayas=tat=pād-ānudhyātaḥ sakala-vidy-ādhigama-vihita-nikhila-vidvaja(j=ja)na-manah-pa[ritōsh-ā]-

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1 Read *saṇhat*.

2 Read *ḍīn-maṇḍalas*.

3 Read *°tarāṇsa*.

## Second Plate

- 23 tiśaya[h\*] satva(ttva)-sampadā tyāg=audāryyēna cha vigat=ānusandhān= aśa(sa)mahit=arati-paksha-manōrath=ākshabhaṅgas=samyag=upalakshit=ānēka-
- 24 śastra-kala-loka-charita-gahvara-vibhāgō=pi parama-bhadra-prakri(kṛi)tir= akri(kṛi)trima-prāśraya-vinaya-śobhā-vibhūshaṇas=samara-śata-ja-
- 25 ya-patakā-harana-pratyat=ōdagra-bāhu-daṇḍa-vidhvansita<sup>1</sup>-nikhila-pratipaksha-darpp-odayah svadhanuḥ-prabhava-paribhūt-āstra-kausāl-abhimā-
- 26 na-sakala-nṛipati-maṇḍal-abhinandita-śāsanaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-Dharasēnas=tasy=anujas=tat=pād-ānuddhyātaḥ sach-charit=ātiśayita-[sa]kala-purvva-nara-
- 27 pa[ti]r=ati-dussadhanam=api prasādhayita vishayānām-mūrttimān=iva purusha-kāra-parivṛiddha-gun-anurāga-nirbhara-chitta-vṛittibhir=Manur=iva svyam= abhyu[pa]-
- 28 pannah prakṛitibhir=adhigata-kala-kalāpaḥ=kāntimān=nivṛiti-hetur=akalānkaḥ Kumudanathaḥ prajya-pratapa-sthagita-dig-antarālaḥ pradhvansita<sup>2</sup>-dhvānta-
- 29 [raśih] satat-ōditas=savita-prakṛitibhyah=param pratyayam=artthavantam=ati bahutitha-prayōjan-ānubandham=āgama-paripūrṇam vidadhānaḥ sandhi-vigra-
- 30 ha-samasa-niśchaya-nipunaḥ sthāne=nurūpam=adēśam dadad=guṇa-vṛiddhi-vidhana-janita-saṁskāras= sādhanām rājya-sālāturiya-tantrayōr=ubhayōr=api
- 31 nishnataḥ prakṛishṭa-vikramō=pi karuṇā-mṛidu-hṛidayah śrutavān=apy=agarvitaḥ kanto= pi praśami sthira-sauhṛidayyō=pi nirasitā dōsa(sha)vatām=udaya-
- 32 samaya-samupajanita-janat-anurāga-paripīḍita-bhuvana-samartthana-prathita-Baladitya-dvitiya-namā paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-Dhruvasēnaḥ
- 33 [kuśa]li sarvvān= ēva yathā-sambaddhyamānakam(kān) samājñāpayaty=astu vas=samviditam yathā mayā mātā-pitrōḥ puny-āpyāyanāy=Ānartapura-nivā-
- 34 [si]...sagōtra Bahvṛicha-sabrahmachārīṇe brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭisvāmi-putra-brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭi-Vishṇamē(vē) Khēṭakāhāra-vishayē Māhishaka-padrak=ānta-
- 35 rgata Dayantaka-grāmaḥ s-ōdrangah s-ōparikarah sa-bhūta-vāta-pratyayah sa-dhanya-hirany=ādēyas=sa-daśāparādhaḥ s-ōtpadyamāna-vi-
- 36 shtikaḥ sarvva-rājakiyānām= ahasta-prakshēpaṇiyah pūrva-datta-dēva-brahmadeya-brāhmaṇa-vinsati<sup>3</sup>-rahitam bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn=āchandr= arkk-ārṇava-

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1 Read °vidhvamsita.°

2 Read °pradhvamsita.°

3 Read °vimsati.°

DANA PLATES OF DHRUVASĒNA (II) BĀLĀDITYA,  
YEAR 314—PLATE II

ii



SEAL



*K. V Ramesh*

*Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII*

- 37 [kshiti]-sarit-parvvata=samakālinah putra-pautr=ānvayaṁ(ya)-bhōgya udak=atisarggēṇa dharmma[dā]yō nisṛishṭō yatō=sy=ochitayā brahmadāya-sthityā
- 38 [anaya] bhuñjataḥ kṛishataḥ karshayataḥ pradiśatō vā na kaiśchid=vyasēdhe varttitavyam=āgāmi bhadra-nṛipatibhir=apy=asmad=vañ-sajair=<sup>1</sup> anyair=vvā anin
- 39 tyāny= aiśvaryyāny= asthiram mānushyam sāmānyam cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagachchadbhir= ayam= asmad= dāyō= numantavyaḥ paripālayitavyaś= ch= ety= uktaṁ cha [1\*] Bahubhi-
- 40 r=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [1] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis= tasya tasya tadā phala[m 11\*11] Yān=iha dāridrya- bhayān= narēndrair= ddānāni dharmmā-
- 41 yatanikṛitāni [1\*] nirbhukta-malya-pratimāni tani kō nama sādhuḥ punar= ādadita 11 [211\*] Shasṭi- varsha sahasrāni svarggē mōdati bhūmida[h 1]
- 42 achchhettā ch= anumantā cha tāny= eva narakē vāsē[t\*] 11 [311\*] Dūtakō= tra sāmanta-Śilādityaḥ 11 likhitam=idam sandhivigrahādhikṛita-divirapati-
- 43 Vattrabhaṭṭinā 11 Sam 300 + 10 + 4 Margaśira ba 10 + 2 [1\*] sva-hastō mama 111

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1 Read <sup>v</sup>vañsajair=.



## No. 16—PANJIM PLATES OF THE TIME OF HARIHARA II, ŚAKA 1313

(3 Plates)

S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, Mysore.

The copper-plate charter edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was received in 1962-63 from Dr. V.T. Gune, Director of Archives, Panjim, Goa through Dr. G.S. Gai, the then Government Epigraphist for India. The set was then stated to have been in the possession of the former and no other details regarding its actual findspot are available. This was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1962-63 as No. A 1.

This set consists of three plates with a ring and seal. The first and third plates are engraved on the inner sides only while the second has writing on both sides. Each plate measures 31 cms by 20 cms and the set weighs 3,410 gms with seal and ring. The seal is attached to the ring which is about 9 cms thick and its diameter is about 9 cms. The seal which is somewhat oval measures 4 cms by 3.75 cms and bears a human figure, on its countersunk surface, having in the right hand a *kamaṇḍalu* and in the raised left hand an object looking like a *daṇḍa*. This figure may represent Vidyāranya, an invocation to whom is given in the beginning of the charter.<sup>1</sup> There are some traces of the sun and crescent on either side of the figure. The plates are deeply engraved as a result of which the writing is well preserved.

The inscription is engraved in Nāgarī (lines 1-87) and Telugu (line 88-95) characters of the 14th century to which it belongs. The language is throughout Sanskrit prose and poetry and is mostly free of orthographical errors.

The palaeographical features of the record are regular to the period to which it belongs. As regards orthographical features the following are noteworthy : doubling of the consonant following the *repha* is observed in a few instances (lines 11, 13, 14, 25, 65 etc). There is no regularity in the matter of drawing the top horizontal over the Nāgarī letters as a result of which in some cases (as in *pālana*, line 76 and 77) the *ā* *mātrā* of the previous letter appears like the *prishṭha-mātrā* of the following letter. Attention may be drawn to the word *jaithalā* which is of some lexical interest. The word which denotes a coin, as it occurs in the present charter (lines 21, 22, 24), is the result of an attempt to Sanskritize the term *jīṭal* which appears to be the original form of the word.<sup>2</sup>

This charter is dated Śaka 1313 (in words), Prajāpati, Chaitra-*amāvāsyā*, *angāraka-dina* and solar eclipse corresponding to 1391 A.D., April 4, Tuesday. However, the solar eclipse actually occurred on the next day (i.e., Wednesday) and on that day the *tithi* ended at 23.

The purport of the inscription is to register the grant of the village Mārñchalāpura as an *agrahāra* by Mādhava-mantri, who was ruling Gōvā as a subordinate of Harihara II, to

1 It may be noted that the seal of the Kukke (South Kanara, Karnataka) plates of the same king, dated Śaka 1309, also bears a standing human figure facing proper right, holding a pitcher-like thing by the right hand and an open umbrella by the left (AREp., 1928-29, No. A 2, Above Vol. XLI, pp. 118. ff. and plates).

2 D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 136 Another Sanskritized form of this name is *jīṭhala*-*ibid*.

12 *brāhmaṇas* of different *gōtras* and hailing from different places.

The record opens with the salutation to Śrī-Mahā-Gaṇapati followed by two well-known verses *Namas-tuṅga*<sup>o</sup> (verse 1, lines 1-3) and *Harēr-lilā*<sup>o</sup> (verse 2, lines 3-5). Then the ruling king Harihara II is introduced in lines 5-10 bearing epithets which are already well known from his other inscriptions. This is followed by the introduction of Mādhava-mantri (lines 10-18) as ruling over Gōvā on the orders of the king (*tan=nirūpita-Gōvā-simhāsane*, line 10). He is described as *vēd-ōpanishan-mārga-pravartak-āchārya* and *śrauta-smārta-dharmma-nirata* (lines 10-12). He is stated to have belonged to Bhāradvāja-gōtra, studied two *vēdas* (*dvivēdi*) and as the son of Chaunḍi-bhaṭṭa (lines 12-13). He is further stated to have consecrated the deity Saptanāthalinga (line 13). He is described as one who had obtained the kingdom as a boon by worshipping the lotus feet of the god Triyambakadēva (lines 14-15). The next three lines extol his valour by saying that his feet were decorated by the garland of the diadems (*mauli*) of the kings, that he was very skillful in protecting the kings who came from different countries and took refuge under him and that his valour was the very wild fire in burning down the families of the enemy kings which were like forests. Lines 18-19 state that Mādhava-mantri created an *agrahāra* in the name of his mother Māchāmbikā. Verses 3 to 7 (lines 19 to 26) define the *agrahāra*. The village Gōvali, yielding a revenue of 128 *rājya-tamkakas* and 22 *jaithalas* and the village Mauli, yielding a revenue of 239 *rāja-tamkas* and 12 *jaithalas*, the total revenue of both the villages being 367 *tamkas* and 34 *jaithalas*, were united (as one village) and were exempted from taxes like *paṅga* (*paṅg-ādi-sarva-rāj-ōkta-bādhābhiḥ parivarjitam*). These two villages, stated to have been included in the Trimśad-vāṭikā-dēśa, were not only united but also a single boundary was marked for both (line 26). Verses 8 and 9 (lines 26-29) specify the boundaries of the village, which is here called as Māmchālāpura, so named after Māchāmbā, the mother of Mādhava-mantri. Lines 31-34 state that an embankment (*sētu*) was constructed to the tank called Māmchālā-samudra, obviously named after Māchāmbā, and that a water-fall from the hill on the north-eastern side (probably of the newly created *agrahāra*) was named as Mādhava-tirtha, obviously after Mādhava-mantri himself. The waters of Mādhava-tirtha and Māmchālā-samudra were given (i.e., allowed to be utilised) for rearing an areca-nut grove which had been newly planted. A village called Brahmapuri, with beautiful buildings, was also created near this (probably areca-nut grove). The date of the charter, the details of which are discussed above, is given in lines 35-37. Lines 37 to 44 register the actual grant of the village. They state that in Dvipa (i.e., Gōvā), in the presence of the deities Saptanāthadēva and Triyambakadēva, as *brāhmaṇas* and *purōhitas* of his own lineage (*nijānvayē*) were near by, and having the groups of scholars hailing from different countries with him, Mādhava-mahipāla gave away the village Māmchālāpura-agrahāra, for the merit of his mother, to twelve *brāhmaṇas*, to be enumerated in the sequel, after laving their feet. The village was exempted from let and hindrance and was given away duly documented (*śāsani-kṛitya*). Lines 44 to 57 give the list of the donees, the names of their fathers, their *gōtras* and the villages from which they hailed. The details are tabulated below :

Sl. No.	Name of the donee	Name of the donee's father	Gōtra	Native place
1.	Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa	Kēśava-bhaṭṭa	Atri	Kapila
2.	Viṭṭhala-bhaṭṭa	Āmadēva-bhaṭṭa	Naidhṛiva	-do-
3.	Sōmanātha-bhaṭṭa	Kēśava-panḍita	Kauśika	Vēra
4.	Īśvara-bhaṭṭa	Dharmadēvajña- Māimdēva-panḍita	Gautama	Mallaura
5.	Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa	Narasimha-kramavit	Bhāradvāja	Kapila
6.	Hāmātri-panḍita	Bhānu-panḍita	Kauśika	Vēra
7.	Kēśava-śaḍaṅgavit	Gōvinda-prabhu	Atri	Kapila
8.	Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭa	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa	Naidhṛiva	Khaḍga
9.	Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa	Kēśava-bhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	Piryala
10.	Padmanabha-bhaṭṭa	Vishṇu-bhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	Chandra
11.	Janārdana-paṭṭa- vardhana	Rāmadēva-bhaṭṭa	Kāśyapa	Kulavana
12.	Vāmana-bhaṭṭa	Bhānu-bhaṭṭa	Kauśika	Bhallāvali

All the donees are said to be *Rigvēd-ādhyāyins*. Lines 57 to 61 stipulate certain conditions according to which if any of the donees leaves the *agrahāra* and migrates to any other place along with his property, his share is to be enjoyed by the remaining donees (*ēśhām-madhyē yō- 'grahāram tyaktvā sthityā sah=ānyatra gachchhati tad=bhāgam sthitāḥ sarvē vibhajy=āśniyuh*); an outsider, who is allowed into the village with the consent of all (the donees) can live in that portion of the village, which is not otherwise owned, with the permission of the neighbour (or that portion of the village) (*a-svāmikē-mśē pārśvastha-grih-ānumatyā sarvaiḥ sthāpitō=bhyāgatō vasēt*); one's own portion can be sold or gifted away by himself only with the consent of all (the donees) (*sv-ānśa-vikrayam dānam vā sarv-ānumatēna kuryāt*); if either selling or gifting away is done without obtaining the consent as specified above both the seller and the buyer will be subjected to punishment by the king (*vin-ānumatyā dāna-vikrayau kurvan=vikrēta krētā ch=ōbhāv=api rājñā daṇḍyau*). Lines 62 to 67 specify gifts and taxes which are declared as the *mānya* of the *agrahāra*. These include all the gifts (*sarvōpadāḥ*) such as *sarṁvatsara-pratipad-dipālik-ōpāyana* (gifts of the king and others for the conduct of the festival of illumination on the first day of every *sarṁvatsara*) and some taxes, viz., *taravāla-pamjika*, ferry-dues pertaining to the four rivers (*chataśrishu nadishu tāri-pamjika*), all other *śūlkas* and the ten *dānakas* of the *kāruka* tax levied on the *lēkhakas* (writers), *vāṇijakas* (merchants), *mālākāras* (garland makers), *nau-vāhakas* (ferry men), *rajakas* (washermen), *sthapatis* (architects), *karmmāras* (smiths), *kramuki-vriksha-bandhakas* (betelnut gardeners) and *charmakāras* (leather goods makers) and all other artisans (*kāru-prajā*). Thus the *agrahāra* was perpetually granted as a *sarvamānya* exempting it from all encumbrances (*sarva-bādha-vivarjitam*) in the presence of the *pauras*, *jānapadas* and *nāgaras* of all the *dēśas* including Shaṭshashti, Arnturuja-12, and Gōva-dēśa-70, etc.

(lines 68-71). Lines 71 to 87 contain usual imprecatory verses (vv. 10-18). Lines 88 and 95 twice register the sign-manual Śrī-Triyambaka-Śrī. Lines 89-92 state that after having examined the relevant copper-plate charters of the Kadamba kings, etc., who had ruled earlier, the villages Kapila, Khaḍga, Kulavana, Morambyavv-agrahāra, Pariyala and Brahmapuri were given away to the *dvādaś-ādhikāris*, astrologers and others. The charter concludes with the injunction that the gift of these villages, as also that of Machalāpura should be protected by the future kings.

The importance of this charter lies in the fact that though Madhava-mantri is already known to be the ruler of Gōvā, this is his first charter to be discovered as yet from that region. Secondly, the stipulations laid down while granting the *agrahāra* are very interesting. We already know about this Madhava-mantri through the Kukke plates referred to above as also from a stone inscription<sup>1</sup> from the same place bearing the same date viz., Śaka 1309, Kali 4488 (1386 A.D.). Thus the present grant is dated four years later than the above two records.

Attention may be drawn to an inscription<sup>2</sup> from Banavāsi belonging to Harihara II, dated Śaka 1309 (1387 A.D.), in which the Kukke plates are also dated, referring to a governor of Gōvā, whose name is lost. He is endowed with the epithets *Śaiv-āgama-vārdhhi-vardhishṇu-Sudhākara*, *durāmatya-durnaya-duśśāsana*, *Rig-yajuh-sām-atharva-veda-vēdāṅga-kaśāla*, *paśchima-pārāvāra-kalita-Gōva-nagara-virājamāna-ruchira-simhasana*, etc. Line 9 of the text of the same inscription refers to a Madhav-amatya. Hence we may infer that it is he who was endowed with the epithets mentioned above. It is possible that he is identical with Mādhava-mantri of our charter. However, it must be noted that he is not described in the present charter as *Rig-yajuh-sām-atharva-veda-vēdāṅga-kaśāla* but merely as a *dvivēdi*. There was yet another Mādhava who flourished during the same period<sup>3</sup> but he must be considered as different from his namesake referred to in the present charter as the former belongs to Āṅgira-sagōtra while the latter belongs to Bhāradvāja-gōtra.

The **geographical** names mentioned in this record are tabulated below with their probable identification wherever possible :

<i>Names as occur in the charter</i>	<i>Probable identification</i>
1. Gōvā Dvīpa <sup>4</sup>	Goa
2. Mauli-grāma	Maulinguem (15°35' lat; 73°55' long)
3. Vēra-grāma	Verem (15°30' lat ; 73°45' long)
4. Mallaura-grāma	Malar (15°30' lat; 73°50' long)
5. Khaḍga-grāma	Kadgaon (16°10' lat; 73°50' long)
6. Shaṭshasṭi	Salsette
7. Gōvāli-grāma	Not known
8. Māmiṇi	-do-

1 *AREp.*, 1927-28, No. 387 and *Ibid.*, 1928-29, pt II, p 82, para 56

2 *SII.*, Vol. XX, No. 231.

3 *Arch. Sur. Report*, 1907-08, p 238, n 2

4 *Dvīpa* is nothing but a contracted form of *Revati-dvīpa* and is identical with *Gōvā*. The name *Revati-dvīpa* occurs in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II — Above, Vol VI, p 5, text line 6

9.	Kapila-grama	Not known
10.	Piryala or Pariyala-grāma	-do-
11.	Chandra-grāma	-do-
12.	Kulavana-grāma	-do-
13.	Bhallāvali-grāma	-do-
14.	Morambyavv-āgrahara	-do-
15.	Brahmapuri	-do-
16.	Armturuja	-do-

Apart from these villages the territorial divisions viz., Gōvā-dēśa-saptari, Armturuja-12 and Trimśad-vāṭikā-dēśa are mentioned. All these divisions have to be located in the present day Union Territory of Goa.

### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres : Verses 1 to 9, 11 to 18, *Anushtubh* ; verse 10, *Śalini*]

#### First Plate <sup>2</sup>

- 1 Sri<sup>3</sup> (Śri)-Mahā-Gaṇapatayē namaḥ | Namas=tuṅga-śīra-
- 2 ś-chumbi-charandra-chāmara-chāravē | trailōkya-nagar-ā-
- 3 rambha-mūla-stambhāya Śāmbhavē || [1 ||\*] Harēr=1ilā-vatārasya<sup>4</sup>
- 4 dāmsṭra-damḍaḥ sa pātu vaḥ | hēm-ādri-kalaśā yatra dhātri-ksha(chchha)tra-
- 5 śriyam dadhau | [ | 2||\*] Svasti [ ||\*] śrim<sup>3</sup>ad-aśēsha-sāmarṁta-śi(si)marṁtini-  
samarṁta-śim(sim)-
- 6 dūr-anuramjita-charaṇ-aravimḍe | uddamḍa-bhūpāla-marḍala-bhujā-dam-
- 7 ḍa-charḍima-khamḍana-kodamḍe | nija-pratāp-āsādit-ākḥil-ā-
- 8 vani-marḍalē | pūrva-dakṣhiṇa-pāśchima-samudr-ādhiśvarē | śrīma<sup>3</sup>n-ma-
- 9 hārājādhirāja-rājaparamēśvara-śrī<sup>3</sup>-vira-Ḥarihararājē |<sup>5</sup>
- 10 rājyam śāsati | tan=nirūpita-Gōvā-simhasanē | sakala-vē
- 11 d-ōpanishan-mārgga-pravarttak-achāryaḥ | śrauta-smārta-dharma-ni-
- 12 rataḥ | pavitrikṛita-Bharadvaja-gotrō dvivedi Chaumḍi-bhaṭṭ-ā
- 13 tmajaḥ saptarshi-tapo-murttimat-Saptanatha-liṁga-pratishṭhāpakāḥ |

1 From estampages.

2 On the top of the plate, left of the hole, the following is engraved faintly in Telugu characters :  
*ōm namaḥ śrī-Vidyāraṇya-gurubhyāḥ (bhyah).*

3 There is an unnecessary medial ē sign on top of this letter.

4 Read °-varāhasya.

5 This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

PANJIM PLATES OF THE TIME OF HARIHARA II, ŚAKA 1313

PLATE-I

i

	श्रीमहाभाष्यतयेनमः मस्तुगरीय	
2	स्तुतिर्बंदवामयवपिवे। त्रैलोक्यनगप	2
	अनमस्तु त्रैलोक्यनगप। हर्षलीलावतापस्य	
4	देवदेवः स पादुवः हेमः हिकलरायउधात्रीकुत्र	4
	श्रियं दधो। सतिप्रोमदरासामेतसीमितिनीसमिनरी	
6	दुष्टावर्गमनुवपामपविदाउड्डहात्ममंडलहडा	6
	हर्षदिमस्तुनकोरुडे। निजप्रतापासादिनाखिला	
8	मनेनडलेपूर्वदेकिणपश्चिमसमुदाधीरुपे। श्रीम	8
	दापाजाक्षिपाज्याजपमेखयत्रीवीपहपिहपजा	
10	राज्यरासतिविनिहपितगावाशिहमनोसकुलवे	10
	रूपनिषत्वाधुवर्तकावायः। श्रोतस्मानधुम्नि	
12	यतः। प्रवित्रीकृतमपहाजगोत्रोहिदेवीवोडितहा	12
	मकः। सप्रवृत्तपामनेमसप्रनायलिपतिष्ठापकः।	
14	श्रुतिवृत्तकदेववर्णकमीनावृत्तषसादलवृगा	14
	दयः। समदीपालमोनिमालाकृतवपामयुगलः॥	
16	नाभापाहुसंस्तुतवपामगतसिनिगलपालनात्रिभु	16
	पः। सकलवैपित्पालकुलार्थप्रदहृत्प्रतापदाहा	
18	ल्लात्रेनिक्काधवमनीसुयः। सुमाटमाटीविकानामधे	18
	यमयहापमकजम्। सपथहापस्यनिसियगालाया	
20	मस्तुतुनपरायजटका। सहाष्टासिवातिमाताः।	20
	हाविद्याने। तैत्रिलो। मीनिय। कप। यो। नव। उ। रा। सु	
22	वैरा। हिरानपाजटका। सजै। य। सु। दरा। सि। य। सु	22

	ना. ना. अ. मोवा.	
24	महद्वाराय संयोजन विद्यते तास सप्रवक्षि विराते सवतु	24
26	सिंहा जेष्ठानां एतकादयोऽपि राहाटिकादेरा मष्टा मेषादि सव	26
28	माजान् बाधानिः पविर्गृहीतां कृत्वा सव विमरये वतः कृत्वा दिशः पु	28
30	नूतः एकीकृत्यैकं सीमां तं कृत्वा सीमाः प्रकल्प्य वा एव स्यात् पात्रमा	30
32	गो रक्षाकारो दिशि दक्षिणो गोवलीमां इणीमध्यं विभूषितः	32
34	उत्तमं नडिकात लवल्या अतिर्यया वदीत नः उत्तरस्यां दिशि	34
36	प्राग्वा विदिशः रात्रिः स्यात् ता एव धाकृतः सीमां तं गतेया	36
38	ममां बला उपनि निष्ठमाह मां रां बाना मां किं तं कृत्वा	38
40	मां बला सख्यदा स्य तदा क स्य तरो वृद्धा इराज्या	40
42	वतः इति नैऋतं दक्षिणं माधवती इति नैऋतं विदि	42
44	यन्तु दक्षिणं बला सख्यदा तदा क दक्षिणं वृद्धा इति नैऋतं	44
46	गी वत जीवनाय देवा तं समीपं म्यादस्यो वृद्धा इति नैऋतं	46
	सो वृद्धा दरात्र विराता धिक सद्ध सु सख्यदा कं वृद्धा	
	पति तं वृद्धा देवे मां मां वा स्याय मां गाव क दिने सुगा	
	प गग काले हा पसी स न नाय देव स्य सुजल स विद्ये वि	
	यं क देव स्य व स निः सदा व प प वि वि कृत नि जा वृद्धे	
	ना हि प पु रो हि ते स मां प म ति ना ता दे रा समागत विह	
	द र्ग वि स त्रि धा शा वृद्धा मां ना क गो ये स्या हा द रा यो बाद्ध	
	पात्रां क मण व प ता ह इ पु काल्य सु दि ग ल्या द क धा रा र्व क स वृद्ध	
	सं स्ये स क ल्या ज ता धा वि व र्गि ते नि धि नि क प स दि ते रा स त	
	इय सु मा र ये प से र्ग मा ध व म दी पा ना मां बला उप म्या हा रं पादा	
	सां नैऋतं बाह्या ना ना मा नि गा वा पि यो र्ग ते क पि न गाना र्	
	कैः तं स द उ राः गो वि द न द्याः अ दि गो राः पा त ये व	
	आ म दे व न द उ राः वि द न द्याः नै ध व गो राः र वे र गाना	

- 14 Sri<sup>1</sup> (Sri)-Triyambaka-dēva-charaṇa-kamal-archchana-prasada-labdha-rāḥy-ō-  
 15 dayah sa-mahipāla-mauli-māl-ālamkṛita-charaṇa-yugalah ||  
 16 nānā-rāshṭra-sambhūta-śaraṇ-āgata-kshiti-pāla-pālān-āti-chatu-  
 17 rah | sakala-vairi-bhūpāla-kul-ātavi-pradahana-pratāpa-dāvāna-  
 18 lah | sri<sup>1</sup> (śri)man-Mādhava-mantriśvaraḥ sva-mātri-Māchāmbikā-nāmadhē-  
 19 yam=agrahāram=akarōt | tasy=āgrahārasya nirṇayaḥ | Gōvāli-grā-  
 20 ma-sambhūta-kara-rāyaja-tamkakāḥ |<sup>1</sup> sah-aṣṭāvimśatiśataḥ sa-  
 21 dvāvimśati jaithalāḥ | [13\*] Mauli-grāma-kar-ādāyō navatrimśat-sama-  
 22 nvitam |<sup>2</sup> dviśataḥ rāja-tamkānām jaithala-dvadaś-ānvitam | [14\*] ēvaḥ grā-

*Second Plate : First Side<sup>3</sup>*

- 23 ma-dvay-ādāya-samkhy=aikatra nigadyatē | sa-saptashasṭitriśataḥ sa-chatu-  
 24 strimśa-jaithalaḥ | [15\*] ētad=grāma-dvayaḥ Trimśadvāṭikā-dēśa-madhyamaḥ |  
 paṅg-ādi-sarva-  
 25 rāj-ōkta-bādhabhiḥ parivarjitaḥ | [16\*] kṛtvā sarvanamasyaḥ cha tad=grāma-  
 dvitayaḥ pu-  
 26 naḥ | ēkikṛity=aika-simāntaḥ kṛtvā simaḥ prakalpya cha | [17\*] pūrvasyaḥ rājamā-  
 27 rgasya prakārō diśi dakṣiṇē | Gōvāli-Māmiṇi-madhya-nimnaḥ paśchimataḥ  
 28 punaḥ || 8\*] bhaṭṭhikā talavalyōscha(ś=cha) tiryag-lagnā-nadi tataḥ | uttarasyaḥ  
 diśi  
 29 prāvṛid-vāri niḥśa(sa)raṇiḥ smṛitā | [19\*] ēvaḥ prak-chatuḥ sim-āntargataḥ grā-  
 30 maḥ Mārṇchalāpuram=iti sva-mātri-Māchāmbā-nām-āmkitaḥ kṛtvā  
 31 Mārṇchalā-samudr-ākhyasya taṭākasya cha [s]ētum badhvā isānya-pa-  
 32 rvat-ōdbhūta-nirjhar-ōdakasya Mādhava-tirtham=iti nāma<sup>4</sup>dheyam vidhā-  
 33 ya tad=udakaḥ Mārṇchalā-samudra-taṭāk-ōdakaḥ cha nav-ōdyamita-pū-  
 34 gi-vana jivanāya datvā |<sup>5</sup> tat=samiparṇaḥ ramya-harmyaḥ brahmapurim kṛi-  
 35 tvā |<sup>5</sup> trayōdaś-ōttara-triśat-ādhika-sahasra-samkhyē Śākē Prajā-  
 36 pati-samvachchha(tsa)rē Chaitrē māsy=amāvāsyāyām=amgāraka-dinē sūry-ō-

1 There is an unnecessary medial ē sign on top of this letter.

2 This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

3 On the top of the plate Śa. Gō. Bha. Kra. Jō. Nā. Bām. Am. Gōvā. are engraved in Nāgarī characters. The dots indicate punctuation marks. See n. 1 in p. 121.

4 The letter *ma* is engraved above the letter *nā* in small characters.

5 This *daṇḍa* is redundant.



- 37 parāga-kālē <sup>1</sup> Dvipē sri(śri)-Saptanāthadēvasya sva-kula-svāmi sri(śri)-Tri-  
 38 yambakadēvasya cha samnidhau <sup>1</sup> sad-ācharaṇa-pavitrikṛita-nij-ānvayē  
 39 sad-vipra-purōhitē samīpagē sati <sup>1</sup> nānā-dēśa-samāgata-vidva-  
 40 d-vargaṁ cha samnidhāpya <sup>1</sup> vakshyamāṇa-nāma-gotrēbhyō dvādaśa(śē)bhyō  
 brāhma-  
 41 nēbhyaḥ <sup>1</sup> kramēṇa charaṇa-dvarṁdvarṁ prakshālya sa-hirany-ōdaka-dhārā-  
 pūrvakaṁ sarvana-  
 42 masyaṁ sakala-rāja-bādhā-vivarjitaṁ nidhi-nikshēpa-sahitaṁ śāsani-  
 43 kṛitya sva-mātri-śrēyasē sri<sup>2</sup>(śri)-Mādhava-mahipālō Mānchalāpuram-agrahāraṁ  
 prāda-  
 44 t || teshāṁ brāhmaṇāṇāṁ nāmāni goṭrāṇi ch=ōchyantē <sup>1</sup> Kapila grāmāt  
 45 Kēśava-bhaṭṭa-putrāḥ <sup>1</sup> Gōvirṁda-bhaṭṭāḥ <sup>1</sup> Atri-gōtrāḥ <sup>1</sup> 1 <sup>1</sup> tatraivadhāi <sup>1</sup> 3  
 46 Ā[ma]dēva-bhaṭṭa-putrāḥ <sup>1</sup> Viṭṭhala-bhaṭṭāḥ <sup>1</sup> Naidhṛiva-gōtrāḥ <sup>1</sup> 2 <sup>1</sup> Vēra-grāma-

*Second Plate : Second Side*

- 47 t <sup>1</sup> Kēśava-parṁdita-putrāḥ <sup>1</sup> Sōna(ma)nātha-bhaṭṭāḥ <sup>1</sup> Kauśika-gō-  
 48 trāḥ <sup>1</sup> 3 <sup>1</sup> Mallaura-grāmāt <sup>1</sup> Dharmadēvajña-Māirṁdēva-parṁdita-putrāḥ <sup>1</sup> Īśvara-  
 bha-  
 49 ṭṭāḥ <sup>1</sup> Gautama-gōtrāḥ <sup>1</sup> 4 <sup>1</sup> Kapila-grāmāt <sup>1</sup> Narasim(sim)ha-kramavid-putrāḥ <sup>1</sup>  
 Gō-  
 50 virṁda-bhaṭṭāḥ <sup>1</sup> Bharadvāja-gōtrāḥ <sup>1</sup> 5 <sup>1</sup> Vēra-grāmāt <sup>1</sup> Bhānu-parṁdita-putrāḥ <sup>1</sup>  
 Hēmadri-parṁdi-  
 51 tāḥ <sup>1</sup> Kauśika-gōtrāḥ <sup>1</sup> 6 <sup>1</sup> Kapila-grāmāt <sup>1</sup> Gōvirṁda-prabhu-putrāḥ <sup>1</sup> Kēśava-sha-  
 52 dāṁgavidāḥ <sup>1</sup> Atri-gōtrāḥ <sup>1</sup> 7 <sup>1</sup> Khadga-grāmāt <sup>1</sup> Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa-putrāḥ <sup>1</sup>  
 Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭāḥ <sup>1</sup>  
 53 Naidhṛiva-gōtrāḥ <sup>1</sup> [8 <sup>1</sup> \*]Piryala-grāmāt <sup>1</sup> Kēśava-bhaṭṭa-putrāḥ <sup>1</sup> Gōvirṁda-  
 bhaṭṭāḥ <sup>1</sup> Bharadvā-  
 54 ja-gōtrāḥ <sup>1</sup> 9 <sup>1</sup> Chandra-gramāt <sup>1</sup> Vishṇu-bhaṭṭa-putrāḥ <sup>1</sup> Padmanābha-bhaṭṭāḥ <sup>1</sup>  
 Bharadvāja-gō-

1 This *danḍa* is redundant.

2 There is an unnecessary medial *ē* sign on top of this letter.

3 The intended reading seems to be *tatratya ēva*.



PANJIM PLATES OF THE TIME OF HARIHARA II, ŚAKA 1313

PLATE-II

ii b

48	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	48
50	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	50
52	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	52
54	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	54
56	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	56
58	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	58
60	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	60
62	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	62
64	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	64
66	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	66
68	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	68
70	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	70

- 55 trāḥ | 10 | Kulavana-gramat<sup>1</sup> Rāmadeva-bhaṭṭa-putrah<sup>1</sup> Janārddana-paṭṭavarddha-  
nāḥ<sup>1</sup>
- 56 Kāśyapa-gotrāḥ | 11 | Bhallavali-gramat<sup>1</sup> Bhanu-bhaṭṭa-putrah<sup>1</sup> Vamana-  
bhaṭṭaḥ<sup>1</sup>
- 57 Kauśika-gotrāḥ | 12 | sarve=mi Rug(Rig)ved-adhyayinah | eshaṁ madhye  
yō=graharam
- 58 tyaktva sthitya sah=anyatra gachchhati tad-bhagaṁ sthitah sarve vibhajya=a-  
59 śniyuḥ | a-svamike=’mśe parśvastha-grīh-anumatya sarvaih sthapito-bhya-  
60 gato vaset | sv-amśa-vikrayam danam va sarv-anumatena kuryat | vi-  
61 n-anumatya dana-vikrayau kurvan=vikreta kreta ch=obhav=api raṇa damdyau  
62 || anyach=cha | samvachchha(tsa)ra-pratipad-dipalik-opayana-prabhritayo  
rājñō=
- 63 nyesham cha sarv-opadah | taravala-pamjika | chatasrīshu nadishu tari-pam-  
64 jika | sarva śulkam cha | lekhaka-vanijaka-malakara-nauvahaka-rajaka-  
65 sthapati-ka(ka)rmara-kramuki-vriksha-bamdhaka-charmmakar-adinam=aśesha-  
karu-pra-
- 66 jānam dasa-danakani karukam ch=ety=adi sarvam=etat=asy=agrahara-  
67 sya manyam | evaṁ śa(sa)rvamānyam sarva-badhā-vivarjitam yavad=a-chandra-  
tārakam=ēta-
- 68 t=samtān=opabhog-arttham | svasya cha | śarach-chandra-chandrika-viśuddha-  
kirttayē
- 69 śāsanikṛitya<sup>1</sup> paura-jānapad-aneka-nagaran sannidhapyā Shatśhashty=Am-  
70 turuja-dvadaśa-dēśa-Gova-dēśa-saptat=ity=adi-samasta-dēśa-sannidhā-  
71 v=etat=śasanam<sup>2</sup> prayachchhat | bhavi-nripaiḥ palana-guna-gadita-punya-

*Third Plate<sup>3</sup>*

- 72 labhaya=edam śve(sve) śve(sve) kale paripalanīyam | Samany=oyam dharmma-  
73 setur=nripānam kale kale palaniyo bhavadbhīḥ | sarvan-etan=bha-

1 This *danḍa* is redundant

2 *Sandhi* has not been observed here. Read *etach=chhāsanam*

3 The following is engraved on the top of either side of the hole in modern Nāgarī characters

To the left of the hole 1 Śrī-Nāgeśa-Bāndivādē

2 Amṛtāja-Govā

To the right of the hole 1 Ragnobā-Govā(vim)da-bhaṭṭa-krama-

2 vatant-josi.

- 74 vinah parthivemdrān bhuyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachandrah || [10\*]  
Bahubhir=vasu-
- 75 dha datta rajabhih Sagar-adibhih | yasya yasya yadā bhūmih
- 76 sta(ta)sya tasya tada phalam(lam) || [11\*] Dāna-pālanayōr=madhyē  
dānatsre(ch=chhrē)y=ō-
- 77 nupālanam(nam) | [\*] danat=svargam=avāpnōti palanād=achyutam padam(dam)  
[12\*] Gām
- 78 pemkād=brahmanīm dāsyā(sya)d=bhūmīm lōpād=dvijam vadhat | mōcha-
- 79 yan=muchyate pāpad=a-janma-maran-āmtikāt || [13\*] Sva-dattam para-dattam
- 80 va yo harechcha(ta) vasumdharam | [\*] shashtir=varsha-sahasrāṇi viṣṭāyām ja-
- 81 yate krimih || [14\*] Akshi-pakshma-samutkshēpa-kshaya-kshayini jivitē | [\*]
- 82 yō dvijad=aharet=kshonīm tasy-avichau kshayō kshayah || [15\*] Gāmam(m=ē)  
kam
- 83 ratnikam=ekam kanyama(m=e)kam tath=aiva cha | haran=narakam=āpnōti
- 84 bhummer=apya(py=e)kam=a[m\*]gulam(lam) || [16\*] Ēk=aiva bhagini lōkē  
savetam<sup>1</sup> cha maha(hi)-
- 85 bhritam | na bhogya na kara-grahya vipra-dattā vasumdhara || [17\*] Bhumir-bha-
- 86 rya va(ta)tha gavo hiranyam ch=apaharitam n=avedayati rajanam sa
- 87 dvija vra(bra)hma-ghatakāh<sup>2</sup> || [18\*]
- 88 'Śri-Triyambaka-śrī<sup>3</sup>
- 89 Anyeh=cha purvam Kadamb=adi-rajabhih dvadaś-adhikāriṇām jyōtir=<sup>5</sup>vi
- 90 dam=any=aisham cha Kapila-Khadga-Kulavana-Mōrambyavv-āgrahāra-
- 91 Pariyala-Bram(Bra)hmapury=adi-datt-āgrahāra-tāmra-śāsanāny=āvalō-
- 92 kya tani dattani samyak paripalya Māchalāpur-ādin=āgrahāra-
- 93 ny=asmarbhi<sup>6</sup> dattani bhavi-nripair=api pālana-guna-gadita-punya-

1 Read *sarveshām*

2 More correct form of this verse is

*Gāvo bhūmim tathā bhāryām ākrāmya hara mā naya |*

*Śrāvayanti hi rājānam brahma-hatyā cha limpāt ||*

Above, Vol IV, p 197, lines 31-32

3 Lines 88 to 95 are engraved in Telugu characters

4 Lines 88 and 95 are engraved in bigger characters

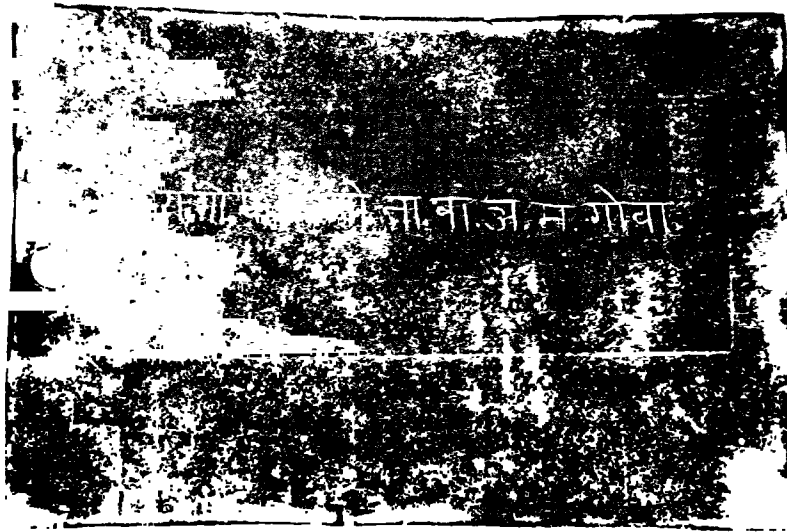
5 The *repha* sign is engraved at the beginning of the 90th line

6 Read *asmābhīr=*

PANJIM PLATES OF THE TIME OF HARIHARA II,  
ŚAKA 1313—PLATE III

iii

72	महाराजस्य...	महाराजस्य...	72
74	महाराजस्य...	महाराजस्य...	74
76	महाराजस्य...	महाराजस्य...	76
78	महाराजस्य...	महाराजस्य...	78
80	महाराजस्य...	महाराजस्य...	80
82	महाराजस्य...	महाराजस्य...	82
84	महाराजस्य...	महाराजस्य...	84
86	महाराजस्य...	महाराजस्य...	86
88	महाराजस्य...	महाराजस्य...	88
90	महाराजस्य...	महाराजस्य...	90
92	महाराजस्य...	महाराजस्य...	92
94	महाराजस्य...	महाराजस्य...	94



Scale : One-Half

SEAL



*K V Ramesh*

Scale : One Third

*Ep Ind, Vol. XLII*

94 lābhāy=emāni śāsanāni svē svē kālē paripalanīyāni [ ||\*]

95 Śrī-Triyambaka-śrī [ ||\*]<sup>1</sup>

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1 On the reverse of the plate the following is engraved in the Nāgarī characters. The dots in between are punctuation marks. *Rā. Gō. bha kra jo Nā. [b]ā Amma. Gōvā* On the strength of the matter engraved on the top of the 4th plate the abbreviations can be expanded as · *Rā. Rāghobā; Gō. Gōvīmda; bha: bhaṭṭa; kra: kramavid, [j]o. jōṣī, Nā. Nāṣe ...* [b]ā: *bāmdivāde; Amma: Amturuja*



## No. 17—TWO GAṄGA RECORDS FROM DHARMAPURI DISTRICT

(2 Plates)

*M.D. Sampath, Mysore*

The two subjoined hero-stone inscriptions edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore were copied from Kaṭṭaraśampatti<sup>1</sup> and Muttanūr,<sup>2</sup> Harur Taluk, Dharmapuri District, Tamilnadu. These stones are called Vēḍiyappaṇ. The inscriptions are in Tamil language engraved in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of the eighth century. Of these two records, the one from Kaṭṭaraśampatti hereinafter called *A*, is dated in the forty seventh year of the reign of the Gaṅga king Śivamara, while the other from Muttanūr, hereinafter called *B*, is dated in the eighteenth year of the reign of Śiripuriśaparumar (i.e., Śripurusha) of the same family.

### *A. Kaṭṭaraśampatti Inscription of Śivamara, year 47.*

In this hero-stone the hero is depicted with a dagger in his uplifted right hand and bow in his left arm. He is depicted in fighting stance with his feet firmly set on the ground and the entire body is seen in its right profile. To the left of the hero is carved a *chauri* at the waist level. Below the bow, to his left, is the depiction of a shrine-like object, the significance of which is not known. There are 4 lines of writing above the sculptured relief and 3 more shorter lines on the proper right of the sculpture.

As has been stated above the inscription is in Tamil language and Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters. Some of the salient features of the script may be examined here. The letters like *y*, *n*, and *t* have not been well-developed. The letter *y* has a loop in the formative stage as seen in line 5, while in lines 3 and 4, the median lines show a curve to the left. The letter *t* has a prominent curved upper part (lines 1 and 2) and is little angular with its lower curve extended horizontally to its left.<sup>3</sup> The letter *m* has a cross-bar on the right side which has taken the shape of a loop in the course of running hand unlike the earlier form showing a stroke in the right vertical arm as seen in some of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions of this region. The letter *ru* (line 1) has a curve at the lower end of the vertical stroke.

The words like *araiśaru* (line 2), *-Ilaiaru* (line 3) with the euphonic ending is a characteristic feature of early Tamil inscriptions. But since the record is of the 8th century by which time the Gaṅgas had gained hold over the region, this might as well be an influence of the Kannaḍa language. It can be compared with similar expressions occurring in the records of Mahendravarman and his successors.<sup>4</sup>

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1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1975-76, No. B 220

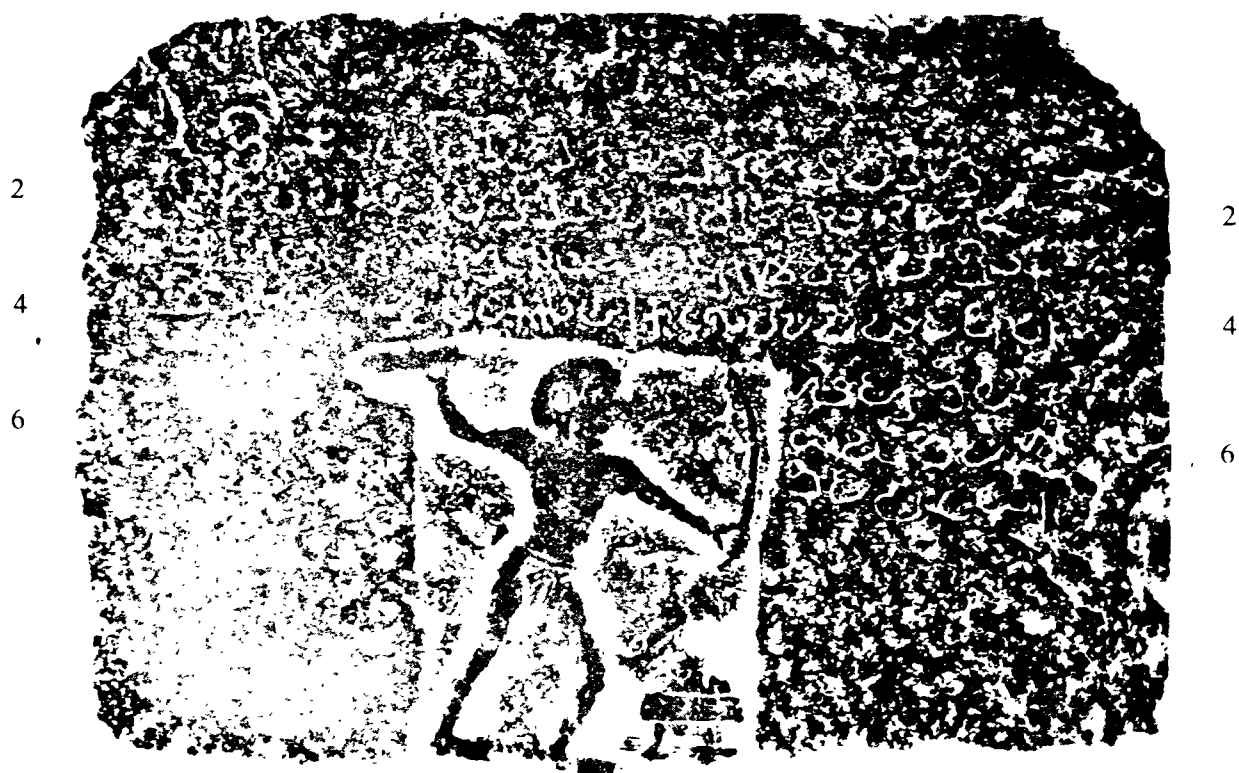
2 *Ibid.*, No. B 224

3 A similar form can be seen in the inscriptions of 7th-8th century from Vedantaṭṭakkal, Kṛṣṇnagiri Taluk, Dharmapuri District (See *A.R.Ep.*, 1979-80)

4 R. Nagaswamy *Chengam Nadukarkal* pp. 6, 7



TWO GĀṆGA RECORDS FROM DHARMAPURI DISTRICT  
—PLATE I



*K V Ramesh*

Scale : One-Half

*Ep Ind* , Vol XLII

The inscription records the death of one Aṇayaṇḍi in a fight which ensued when he fell on Vāṇigach-chaḍaiyaṇar Vettakkiyar,<sup>1</sup> a servant or soldier of Teliyan-Iḷaiaru, the son of Kanda-Vaṇadi-araiṣaru who was administering Puṇamalai-naḍu in the 47th regnal year of the illustrious Śivamaraparumar. The fight took place at Kuḍal where Vettakkiyar had set up camp.

There were two rulers bearing the name of Śivamara in the Western Ganga family of Talakaḍu. Of these, the second ruler of that name ascended the throne sometime after 788 A.D. in which year his father Śripurusha's reign ended. Since Rāchamalla I was on the Western Ganga throne by 816 A.D., Śivamara II could not have ruled for more than twenty-eight years at the most (between 788 and 816 A.D.). As it is, the latest date known for his reign is his 23rd regnal year.<sup>2</sup> Śivamaravarman of our inscription cannot, therefore, be identified with Śivamara II.

On the other hand, we already know from circumstantial evidence, that Śivamara I ruled for as long as 46 to 47 years. His Hallagere plates<sup>3</sup> are dated in Śaka 635 (713-14 A.D.) and were issued in his 34th regnal year showing thereby that he ascended the throne sometime in 679-80 A.D. We know that his grandson Śripurusha, who directly succeeded him, ascended the throne in 725-26 A.D., thus yielding for Śivamara I a reign period of around 46 to 47 years. It is very likely that the hero-stone inscription under study belongs to the very last year of his reign.

Of the **geographical** names occurring in this record, the territory of Puṇamalai-naḍu, which obviously lay outside (*puṇam*) the Malai-naḍu, included the Harur and Uttangarai Taluks of Dharmapuri District. Kuḍal, which was the scene of the fight, has been identified elsewhere with Gudalur near Tirthamalai in Harur Taluk.<sup>4</sup>

#### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Śrī Śivamaraparumarku yandu naṇpatte-
- 2 ḷavadu Kanda-Vannadi-araiṣaru Puṇamalai-nad-a-
- 3 la avar maganar Teliyan-Iḷaiaru śevagar Vāṇi[ga]-
- 4 ch-chaḍai[ya\*]ṇar Vettakkiyar Kuḍal vanduvīḍa a[var]-
- 5 [me][l\*] A[ṇa]yan(n)-
- 6 ḍi niṇṇu śe-
- 7 ṇṇu paṭṭar [l\*]

1 It is mentioned in a record of the third year of the reign of Śivamāra I that one Vāṇaperumān attacked Kudal which was situated in Puṇamalai-nāḍu. He was in inimical terms with Kanda-Vānnadiyaraṇar, the ruler of the same division (Above, Vol XXXVIII, pp 276-77)

2 *ARIp*, 1972-73, No B 279 and Introduction

3 *Ep. Cam.*, Vol VII, (Rev) Md 35 (III Md 113) and plate XVII, pp 219 ff and Introduction p LXXXV and p LXXXVIII

4 Above, Vol XXXVIII, p 277

5 From inked impression

B. *Muttanūr Inscription of Śrīpurusha, year 1* [8]

This inscription is engraved on top and either side of a sculptured representation in the centre. The hero is depicted with his face turned to his left. He holds a bow in his left hand while his raised right hand holds a pointed dagger. Behind him is carved a jar with a lid. There is a shrine like object in his front, placed below the bow.

As has been stated above the inscription, in 8 lines, is in Tamil language and Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters. The following **palaeographical** features are noteworthy.

The letter *y* does not show a clearly formed loop. The median semicircle, standing for the middle vertical, is not connected with the boat like base. The letter *t* is little angular in form. The letter *n* has a curved lower portion as in the inscription of Śivamāra I discussed above. The letter *ru* has a loop at the bottom.

The inscription records that while Amaradakkiyar was ruling over the western division of Puṇamalai-naḍu, during the 18th<sup>1</sup> regnal year of Śrīpurīśaparumar (Śrīpurushavarman), Kamaiaṇar of Veḷal-naḍu undertook a cattle-raid at Koṇṇamaṅgalam and on that occasion Vaḍamachchattanar, a servant of Amaradakkiyar lost his life.<sup>2</sup>

The name Śrīpurīśaparumar, no doubt, refers to the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha. He may be identified with the successor of Śivamāra I, whose last year is known from his Kaṭṭaraśampatti record dated in the forty seventh year of his reign (725-26 A.D.). We know from epigraphical sources that Śrīpurusha ascended the throne sometime in 725-26 A.D. Our inscription may therefore be assigned to 743-44 A.D.

The Western division of Puṇamalai-naḍu which was being administered by Amaradakkiyar comprised the area around Kṛishṇagiri, Morappūr, etc.<sup>3</sup> The place of the cattle-raid, Koṇṇamaṅgalam cannot be identified.

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Śrī Śrīpurīśaparumaṅku yaṇḍu paḍi[ne]ṭṭu[a]-
- 2 vādu Amaradakkiyar Puṇamalai-naṭṭu-mēṇ-
- 3 kūṇ-aḷak-Kamaiaṇar Veḷal-naṭṭu
- 4 niṇṇu vādu Koṇṇamaṅ-
- 5 gaḷattut-toṇuk-konḍa ṇā-
- 6 ṇṇu Amaradakkiyar śēva-
- 7 gaṇ Vaḍamachchattanar
- 8 paṭṭār[l\*]

1 Contra : *A.R.Ep.*, 1975-76, No B 224

2 Contra : *Dharmapuri Kalvēṭṭugal*, No 1974/79, p 62

3 *A.R.Ep.*, 1975-76, Introduction p 6

4 From inked impression

TWO GAṄGA RECORDS FROM DHARMAPURI DISTRICT  
—PLATE II



*K. V. Ramesh*

Scale : One-Half

*Ep. Ind* , Vol. XLII



## No. 18—ON SOME GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM AFGHANISTAN

A.K. Narain, Varanasi

The discovery of the Bactrian Greek city at Ai-Khanoum is surely one of the most significant gifts archaeology has given to history during the last thirty years. The French team of scholars led by P. Bernard verily deserve congratulations for their momentous findings and all praise for the series of publications arising out of their work<sup>1</sup>. While the work at the site had to be stopped for reasons beyond the control of the scholars and the complete report

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- 1 For an up-to-date reference (to the best of my knowledge) to reports on Ai-Khanoum excavations and related studies see the following, some of which I have not been able to get hold of.

### A. Excavation reports :

D. Schlumberger, *CRAI*, (*Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'année, Académie des Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres*) (1965), pp. 36-46; *BCH* P. Bernard and D. Schlumberger, (*Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique*) 89 (1965), pp. 590-657; *CRAI* (1966), pp. 127-933; Bernard *CRAI* (1967), pp. 306-24, (1968), pp. 263-79, (1969), pp. 313-55, (1970), pp. 301-49 (1971), pp. 385-453, (1972), pp. 605-32, (1974), pp. 280-308, (1975), pp. 167-97, (1976), pp. 287-322, (1978), pp. 421-63, (1980), pp. 435-59; Bernard, *PBA*. (*Proceedings of the British Academy*) (1967), pp. 71-95;

P. Bernard and others, *BEFEO* 63 (*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*) (1976), pp. 5-51, 68, (1980), pp. 1-103, (*Fouilles d'Ai-Khanoum*) I, *Memoires DAFA XXI* (1973), 2 Vols.; O. Guillaume, *Fouilles d'Ai-Khanoum* II (1983); H.P. Francfort, *Fouilles d'Ai-Khanoum* III (1984). More volumes of *Fouilles d'Ai-Khanoum* are yet to come out.

### B. Related Studies :

P. Bernard, *Syria* 45 (1968), pp. 111-51 (*Chapiteaux Corinthiens*), *Syria* 47 (1970), pp. 327-43 (*meubles en ivoire*); *Bulletin de la Société française Numismatique*, 34/5 (Mai 1979), pp. 517-20 (*inscriptions économiques sur vases*); P. Bernard et R. Audouin, *Revue Numismatique*, 15 (1973), pp. 238-89, 16 (1974), pp. 7-41 (*trésor de monnaies indiennes à poinçons multiples et de drachmes indo-grecques d'Agathocle*) 17 (1975), pp. 58-69 (*trésor de tétradrachmes*); Cl.-Y. Petitot-Biehler, *Revue Numismatique* 17 (1975), pp. 23-57; P. Bernard et O. Guillaume, *Revue Numismatique* 22 (1980), pp. 9-32 (*monnaies inédites*); H.—Francfort, *Arts Asiatiques* 32 (1976), pp. 91-98 (*Vases en Schiste*); P. Bernard, *Journal Asiatique* (1976), pp. 245-75 (*traditions orientales dans l'architecture greco-bactrienne*); "Problèmes d'histoire coloniale grecque à travers l'urbanisme d'une cité hellénistique d'Asie Centrale" in *150 Jahre, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1829-1979, Festveranstaltungen und internationale Kolloquium* 17-22, April 1979 in Berlin (1979), pp. 108-20; P. Leriche, *Revue Archeologique* (1974), pp. 231-70 (*rempart Nord*); P. Leriche et J. Thoraval, *Syria* 56 (1979), pp. 171-205 (*fontaine du rempart ouest*); P. Bernard, *CRAI* (1976), pp. 299-302 (*le cadran solaire*); L. Janin, *L'Astronomie Astronom. Soc. Canada* 74 (1980), pp. 271-78; R.R. J. Rohr, *J. Royal Astronomical Society of Canada* 74 (1980), pp. 271-78; S. Veuve, *BCH*, CVI (1982), pp. 23-51; C. Rapin, *BCH*, CVII (1983), pp. 315-71; F. Grenet, *BCH*, CVII (1983), pp. 373-81; J. Filliozat, *Arts Asiatiques* 26 (1973), pp. 113-21; A.K. Narain, "Two Hindu Divinities on the Coins of Agathocles from Ai-Khanoum", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (1972, 1973), p. 73 f.; "On the Greek Epigraphs from Ai-Khanoum", *Studies in Indian Epigraphy, Bulletin of the Indian Epigraphical Society*, Vol. I (1975), pp. 97-103; P. Bernard, "Diodore XVII, 83, 1: Alexandrie du Caucase ou Alexandrie de l'oxus?," *Journal des Savants* (1982), pp. 125-38, pp. 219-42; F. Holt, *RN* (*Revue Numismatique*) 23 (1981), pp. 7-44, *American Journal of Archaeology* (1984), p. 248; P. Bernard and H.—P. Francfort, *Études de géographie historique sur la plaine d'Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan)*, Paris CNRS (1978); P. Bernard, *Scientific American*, Jan (1982), pp. 148-59.



of the work done up-to-date is awaited, it is clear from the material remains at the site and the available publications that here we have substantial evidence for a meeting of the Greek, the Iranian-more specifically bactrian or East Iranian-and the Indian elements. But statements made about the date of and its identity do not appear beyond question. Much reliance has been placed on the palaeography, contents and interpretations of some of the Greek inscriptions found at the site. They belong in two groups, one, the earlier monumental ones and two, the later writings on the ostraca found in the "Treasury" of the city. I propose to discuss here only some of them.<sup>1</sup>

In the first group the two epigraphs related to the temenos of Kineas and one which refers to a dedication made by two sons of Strato are relevant for our discussion.<sup>2</sup> The texts of these as read by L. Robert<sup>3</sup> are as below :

1. Ἀνδρῶν τοι σαφᾶ ταῦτα παλαιοτέρων ἀναχῆ[τα]ι  
ῥῆῡατα ἁριγνώτων Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέαι.  
ἐνθεν ταῦτ[α] Κλέαρχος ἐπιφραδέως ἀναγράψας  
εἶσατο τηλαυγῇ Κινέου ἐν τεμένει.  
(See Plate 1.1 and *Fouilles I*, Plate 108)
2. Παῖς ὧν χόσμιος γίνου,  
ἡβῶν ἐγχρατῆς,  
μέσος διῆχαιος,  
πρεσβύτης εὐβουλος  
τελευτῶν ἄλυπος  
(See Plate 1.2 and *Fouilles I*, Plate 108)
3. Τριβαλλός  
χαί Στράτων  
Στράτωνος  
Ἑρμῆι, Ἡραχλεῖ.  
(See Plate II.2 and *Fouilles I*, Plate 109)

These texts may be translated as below.

1. "These wise words to men of previous time,  
are dedicated sayings of famous men, in the  
holy Pytho. From where Clearchus inscribed them and  
set them up in the temenos of Kineas so  
that they shine far afield."

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1 I am thankful to Ms. Joyne M. Reycolds, C. Habicht and Jon D. Mikalson for their suggestions and criticism.

2 *Fouilles I*, pp. 207-37 and *CRAI*, 1968, pp. 416-57.

3 *Fouilles I*, pp. 208, 211 and 213,

2. "Being a child, be well-behaved,  
Young man, be master of yourself;  
In the middle of life, be just;  
Old man, be of good counsel;  
On death, be without chagrin."
3. Triballos  
and Straton [,]  
sons of Straton [, dedicated]  
to Hermes [and] Herakles.

The second group consists of nine of the fragmentary inscriptions on the Ostraca from the "Treasury" of Ai-Khanoum so far published. Their texts are as given below:<sup>1</sup>

1. Ετους ξδ'. [- -]  
ἐλαίου ἐλαίνο [υ]  
ἀποδεῖξ α' τὸ μ[εταγισθέν]  
ἀπὸ χειραμῶν [- - -]  
τοῦ ἡμιο [λ] ἱού χ [αἰ - - -]

(See Plate III.1 and *BCH* 1983, p. 320, Fig. 3a-b)

2. λῆπαρὰ [- - -]  
ἀβυα' τὰχερα [- - -]  
ἐλασσον [- - -]

(See Plate III.2 and *BCH*, 1983, p. 324, Fig. 6a-b)

3. Παρὰ Ζήωνος  
ἡρίθμηται  
διὰ ὀξηβοάχου  
καὶ Ὀξυβάζου δρχ φ'  
εοφράγισται Ὀξηβοάχ ης

(See Plate IV.1 and *BCH*, 1983, pp. 325-26, Fig. 8a-b)

4. Παρὰ Τιμοδήμου  
ἡρίθμηται διὰ  
Ὀξηβοάχου καὶ  
Ἑρμαῖου ταξ [α] ἡνὰ

(See Plate V.2 and *BCH*, 1983, pp. 326-27, Fig. 9)

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1. Out of more than two dozens of Ostraca inscriptions in Greek read by Rapin (*BCH*, 1983, pp. 315-71) I have listed only nine here because I found them sufficient to represent the content and character of the group. I have followed in general the readings as given by Rapin. It may be noted that some Ostraca have inscriptions in Aramaic which I have not included in our discussion here.

5. Παρὰ φίλισχου  
χασαπανα ταξαηνά A  
σιὰ Ἀρυάνσου χαι M  
Ετρα . . . — —

(See Plate V.1 abd *BCH*, 1983, pp. 328-29, Fig. 10a-b)

6. Παρὰ φιλίσχον  
νανδαγαχωραγα  
ἡρίθμ [ητα]ι διὰ  
[ . . . 7-8 . . ] ς χαι  
'εργ. α [ M ] A

(See Plate V.2 and *BCH*, 1983, p. 331, Fig. 12a-b)

7. [— — —] ετος τοῦ δευτερ̄ — — — [— — —]  
[— — E]ρμαγού δςχ μδ̄ — —  
[— — —]. 4-5 .α. χαι . . υ. νδου ς'  
[[— — —]σμασ̄ . . τὰς ἀναφορὰς [— — —]  
[— — —] θ. οῡ οῡ. ανος δρχ̄ η'  
[— — —] χξ̄

(See Plate VI.1 and *BCH*, p. 332, Fig. 13a-b)

8. παρὰ Στράτωνος  
σιὰ Μολοσσοῦ χαι  
Στράτωνος χαῑ εῖς — — — —  
...βαρα...δουχαιταρσου A  
[χασα]πανα 'νανσηνά M

(See Plate VI.2 and *BCH*, 1983, p. 333, Fig. 14a-b)

9. Διὰ χοσμου σοκίμου αῖ [γυρίου]  
δεδοχίμασται διὰ Νιχηρά [του]  
ἐσφράγισται αὐτός Νικηρατος

(See Plate VII.1 and *BCH*, 1983, p. 338, Fig. 19a)

These texts may be translated as below:<sup>1</sup>

1. "Year 24, [— — —]  
(contained) in olive oil  
the oil jar) partially empty—  
? lacking a (stamnos) and a half (contains the oil) ? decanted  
from two jars by [— — —]; [— — —].

1 Compare translations by Rapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-71.

2. "38 (?); from [— — —]  
? [— — —] minus [— — —].  
?
3. From Zenon.  
It has been counted by Oxyboakes and Oxybazos 500 drachms.  
Sealed by Oxeboakes
4. From Timodemos.  
It has been counted by  
Oxeboakes and  
Hermaios (from ?) Taxila (?) — — —
5. From Philiskos  
in *Karsapana* (from ?) Taxila,  
10,000; by Aryandes  
and Stra[ton]; — — —.
6. From Philiskos,  
*Nandagakhoraga*.  
It has been counted by  
[— — —] and [— — —] (? sealed)  
10,000 (?)
7. [— — —] of the second — — —;  
— — —] of Hermaios: 44 drachms;  
[— — —] — — — and of Aryandes (?): 7 (?);  
[— — —] — — — the revenue [— — —]  
[— — —] — — — : 8 (?) drachms (?);  
[— — —] — — — 60 (?) drachms (?)
8. From straton;  
by Molossos and  
? Straton; and — — —  
— — — and of Tarzos;  
[in *Karsapana* (from ?) Nand (?): 10,000.
9. By Cosmos { }  
in silver of good alloy; it has  
been verified by Niker(atos).  
Sealed by Nikeratos himself.

These documents no doubt relate to accounting and storage. Certain items of in-

formation strike us at first glance. They are personal and place names, the commodities counted or measured for deposit, and some numerals. Of the personal names, some are of 'Greek' and others are of 'Iranian' origins.<sup>1</sup> The place names appear to belong to the 'Indo-Greek' political geography.<sup>2</sup> The commodities so far known to have been deposited in the vessels are generally olive oil and coins. The latter includes both the Indo-Greek drachms and Indian *Kārshāpanas*.<sup>3</sup> While some of the numerals might refer to the year of deposit<sup>4</sup> most of them refer to the coins. Rapin has discussed these inscriptions, along with others, very thoroughly and one must refer to his notes for a comprehensive treatment of the entire material. My comments in the later part of this paper are limited only to a few points for the time being.

First, let us discuss the three inscriptions of Group I.

Numbers 1 and 2 of this group are engraved on the base of a stele, forming part of a funerary monument. The first is an epigram which informs that a certain Clearchus had carefully recorded certain precepts of wisdom of the famous men of old which were exhibited in the holy Pytho, that is to say Delphi, and set them up, in the temenos of Kineas, so that they can be seen from afar. The second consists of the Delphic maxims to which a reference is made in number 1. This is inscribed on the right part of the same base which carries the text of the first one. The stele on which the whole text of the famous Delphic maxims might have been inscribed has not been found. But it has been suggested that since the stele did not have enough space to accommodate the entire text of all the maxims the last of them had to be engraved on the base itself.<sup>5</sup> The text is an exhortation to acquire the fundamental qualities of man at each stage of life.

A fragmentary inscription, consisting of only seven letters, has also been found about one meter from the base of the stele; it is supposed to be the lower left angle part of the stele.<sup>6</sup> It has been suggested that this is a part of the text of the 48th Delphi maxim.<sup>7</sup>

Both L. Robert and P. Bernard find in these inscriptions substantial evidence for their

1 Eg. Greek : Zenon, Timodemus, Philiskos (also see Philoxenos in No. 19 of Rapin's list), Hermaeus, Strato, Nikeratos, Cosmos, and others; Iranian: Oxeboakes, Oxybazos, Aryandes, Tarzos and others like Xatrannos (No. 15 of Rapin's list). Sosipatros (=Sāsīputra) of No. 18 of Rapin's list may be an Indic name.

2 E.G. Taxaena in No. 5 may refer to Taxila and Nandaaga-khoraga and Nanda-(?) of Nos. 6 and 8 of Rapin's list may also refer to an 'agora' or 'chora' in the Indo-Greek kingdom, its identity being not clear. The fact that the Indian money *Kārshāpanas* are associated with these place names adds to this possibility.

3 *kasapana* is the Pali/Prakrit version of Sanskrit *Kārshāpana*. These are known to have been minted in silver and copper from about the fifth century B.C. in India and they continued to circulate until the first two centuries A.D.

4 Eg. 24 and 38 in Nos. 1 and 2 might refer to the year of deposit, see *infra*, p. 185. Other numerals clearly refer to the coins, *drachms* or *Kārshāpanas*.

5 Fouilles I, p. 223, PBA, p. 89.

6 Fouilles I, p. 216.

7 *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

theory that the city of Ai Khanoum which could be Alexandria Oxiana,<sup>1</sup> was founded by Kineas supposed to be a Thessalian.<sup>2</sup> Clearchus is identified with his namesake who was a well-known peripatetic (from Soli in Cyprus) and one of the direct or indirect disciples of Aristotle.<sup>3</sup> It has been interpreted that Clearchus travelled to Delphi on his mission to obtain a first-hand copy of the Delphic maxims for the purpose of getting them engraved on the funerary *heröon* of Kineas, "to whom was granted the privilege of being buried in the very heart of the city."<sup>4</sup> This has been taken as indicative of the pious concern of the Hellenistic colonies for the preservation of their cherished goal.<sup>5</sup>

Kineas has been regarded as a Thessalian officer under Seleucus I, and he is supposed to have been the founder of the city, (because his burial has been found in the heart of the city), either on orders from Alexander or from Seleucus I who reconquered the eastern provinces of the empire in the years immediately preceding 303 B.C.<sup>6</sup> This is not the place to go into the whole discussion of the foundation of Alexandrian cities. But suffice it to say that the myth of seventy Alexandrias has already been cut to size and archaeology has refused so far to oblige. We have yet to find satisfactory evidence for atleast the far eastern ones among them. Also, there is hardly any reason to look for Alexandria Oxiana at Ai-Khanoum. Not only it is too far east for Alexander's route, but the only reference for Alexandria Oxiana in Ptolemy places it in Sogdiana, in the region which lay between the rivers Jaxartes and Oxus.<sup>7</sup> Bernard is right in rejecting Tarn's proposal for Termez<sup>8</sup> but not in suggesting that Ptolemy has "mistakenly made two cities of one."<sup>9</sup> So far there is hardly anything in the archaeological and literary evidence to link Ai-Khanoum with Alexander's invasion, his route and foundation of a city by him in Badakshan. So also, the fate of Seleucus in his encounter against Chandragupta Maurya<sup>10</sup> hardly leaves ground for him to be so able as to order the founding of cities anywhere in Afghanistan, what to speak of so far northeast as Ai-Khanoum. Had he been strong he would not have lost four satrapies to the Mauryan king for a mere pleasantry gift of some elephants, and Stasanor would not have been allowed to remain untouched in Bactria.<sup>11</sup> Whether or not Eucratides named or renamed the city as

1 Bernard, *PBA*, p. 92; *Journal des Savants*, 1982, pp. 218-42, esp. 235-36.

2 *Fouilles I*, pp. 217-22.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 225-35.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 105; *PBA*, p. 90. He notes that Kineas "could have been simply some important *euergetes*, but I wonder if he might not have been the founder of the city."

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 235-36.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 106; *PBA*, p. 92; *Scientific American*, 1982, p. 148. Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-22.

7 Ptolemy, VI. 12, see also Narain, "on the Foundation and Chronology of Ai Khanoum—a Bactrian Greek city", (Forthcoming article).

8 Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 525; Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 41; B. Stavisky, *East and West*, 23 (1973), p. 265.

9 *PBA*, p. 92, note 4.

10 Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 8.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9; Diodorus, XIX. 48.

Eucratidia, as suggested by Bernard,<sup>1</sup> too, needs more examination. There are only two references for the existence of Eucratidia, one in Strabo<sup>2</sup> and another in Ptolemy.<sup>3</sup> Strabo does not give its exact or relative location. If at all, it might be in either of the two satrapies, Turiva and Aspionus, which were taken away from Eucratides by the Parthians.<sup>6</sup> Ptolemy locates it in his map much west of Alexandria-Eschate,<sup>5</sup> which, of course, is not of help because the identification of Alexandria-Eschate is not certain.<sup>6</sup> But if the latter has to be identified with the modern Chodjend on the Syr Darya,<sup>7</sup> one must find a location for Eucratidia west of it.<sup>8</sup> In any case neither the numismatic evidence nor the historical factors justify associating the city at Ai-Khanoum in any meaningful manner with Eucratides.<sup>9</sup>

The evidence of a Thessalian origin for Kineas and his administrative relationship with Seleucus have been collected assiduously which only L. Robert could do. But he himself has noted that the name Kineas is not epichoric (*il n'est pas epichorique, lié a une seule région*).<sup>10</sup> Even if the Kineas of Ptolemaic Egypt was of Thessalian origin, and if Thessaly furnished a great contingent to Alexander's army, and if Robert's analysis of the Diodorus XVIII.7.2 is taken into account<sup>11</sup> there is hardly anything substantial to clinch his conclusion that our "Kineas was therefore a Thessalian, and not an Athenian or a man from the Cyclades, and that he was probably a Thessalian officer of Seleucus."<sup>12</sup> Be that as it may, and even if roots of Kineas go to Thessaly, what is there to place him under Seleucus? Hardly anything. Some Greek settlements in Bactria had taken place even before Alexander, in the Achaemenid times. Kineas, and for that matter others, may be considered as "Bactrian" or "Iranian" Greeks in the wider sense, whose ancestors from various Greek cities and nations

1 *Scientific American*, 1982, p. 154.

2 Strabo, XI. 11.2

3 Ptolemy, VII. 11.

4 For the context of it see Strabo XI. 11.2. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 88; Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 23. These satrapies must have been in Margiana.

5 See the map in Italo Ronca, *Ptolemaios, Geographia 6, 9-12, Ostiran nd Zentralasien*, Roma, 1971.

6 B.A. Litvinsky and N.O. Tursunon, *East and West*, 24 (1974), p. 89 f., D.W. Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*, Berkeley, 1978, p. 103 note 19. They do not think Alexandria Eschate lies in Chodjend.

7 Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

8 I think one should look for it in Margiana or in the western parts of Bactria rather than in the far eastern parts of it. If in Margiana, Eucratides, might have renamed Antioch-Merve as Eucratidia. On the other hand Cunningham may be right in stating that Eucratidia corresponds exactly with Khulm (cf. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1868, p. 108).

9 Compare the list of all the coins found in Ai-Khanoum (*Fouilles I*, pp. 203-04; *RN.*, 1974, pp. 6-4; 1975, pp. 23-57; see also Bernard's remark in *PBA.*, p. 92 that coins of Euthydemus predominate. For a discussion on the use of Eucratides' era and related issues see *infra*)

10 *Fouilles I*, p. 217.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 218-22.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 222.

vanquished by the Achaemenids, had been settled in the region.<sup>1</sup> This is not to deny the importance of our Kineas. Whether or not a Thessalian, and an officer under, or a protege of, Seleucus, Kineas can still be recognised as a citizen of means, a dignitary of the city on account of this epigraphic evidence. It is surprising though that in a monument like the one we are dealing with his home and status are not specified. He might or might not have been the founder of the city.

So also, while the irresistible temptation to identify Clearchus as a disciple of Aristotle is understandable, there is no direct evidence to support it. The inscription only informs us that it was a Clearchus who had carefully recorded and engraved the maxims from holy Pytho and set them up in the temenos of Kineas in order that they could see from afar. The document does not say that this Clearchus was the well known peripatetic Clearchus of Soli of the fourth-third century B.C.<sup>2</sup> He could very well have been a "friend, philosopher and guide" of Kineas who might have visited Delphi and copied the maxims there, or he was a master of the ceremony who had circumspectly or wisely copied the maxims and organised the engraving and setting up of the text. According to Robert this Clearchus had actually transcribed the maxims at Delphi and that "in this well-turned epigram, which is not banal, not just a space-filler, he has insisted that he had made this transcription with care and intelligence, and that since these Delphic maxims circulated with variance it was an act of conscience on his part to bring to his compatriot on the oxus an authentic version of the text. (*C'est la conscience de philologue et dans un but moral et, pour ainsi dire, patriotique. Cléarque apporta a ses compatriotes sur l'Oxus un texte authentique, vérifié*).<sup>3</sup> But, while I can understand a layman, a "friend, philosopher and guide," asserting this fact in a public document I am not inclined to accept that a philosopher of eminence such as Clearchus of Soli would need to provide such an assurance. Moreover, what evidence do we have for a close association of Kineas with the well-known peripatetic? And, if Clearchus was really the famous peripatetic from Soli, why should not the document, particularly the genre to which it belonged, say that? Announcement of this identity would have surely been of no less importance than the fact of careful copying of the maxim at Delphi. Unfortunately we have no evidence of the travels of the peripatetic Clearchus of Soli. Our Clearchus could be the master of ceremony and not his famous namesake in which case he would naturally take pride and announce the fact that the maxims had been carefully copied and engraved, emphasizing professional excellence.

The third epigraph of this group mentions the names of two brothers, Triballos and Strato, who were sons of a Strato. The short inscription does not give any other information about the individuals and the family but gives two more names which are of gods, Hermes and Herakles. L. Robert remarks that the elder son Triballos has a rare name but very normal

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1 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-6. It may be relevant here to note that Alexander had sent his Thessalian cavalry home after Ecbatana and even those of them who chose to enlist themselves voluntarily he sent them home before crossing the Oxus because their hearts were no longer in their work (cf. Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, Bk III. 19: V. 27).

2 Robert is candid in admitting "*après tout rien ne le dit ni ne l'indique*," *Fouilles I*, p. 255.

3 *Fouilles I*, p. 224.



(*L'ainé a un nom rare, mais très normal*).<sup>1</sup> It is related to the name of a tribe of Northern Thrace. He notes that as a personal name this is attested for a slave in Athens in the list of sailors<sup>2</sup> who died in the battle of Arginuses.<sup>3</sup> It is also known from the epigraph of another slave of the fourth century B.C. in Athens.<sup>4</sup> He draws attention to on the leg of one of the colossi of Abu Simbel in Egypt.<sup>5</sup> On the basis of these references L. Robert thinks that it is not impossible that Tribballos in Bactria, like the father of the one from Abu Simbel was a descendant of a soldier or of an officer of the people, *Triballes*, conquered by Philip and Alexander.<sup>6</sup> He does not think it adventurous (*il n'est pas aventureux*) to deduce the military character of a part of the colonizers of Ai Khanoum and remarks that the name of Tribballos and Triballes brings us to three different and contrasted extremities to the Hellenistic world,

*"a la limite dernière du monde grec de cette époque : les Triballes sont proches du Danube; Tribballos fils de Straton a vécu dans l'Asie Centrale, sur l'Oxus, en bordure du Turkestan en vue de l'Hindoukouch, du Caucase Indien; Hermolaos fils de Tribballos inscrirait le souvenir de son passage sur le Nil aux frontières du Soudan. Ce sont les armées conquérantes qui avaient ainsi véhiculé ce nom, à la suite d'Alexandre. Tel peut être le pouvoir d'évocation historique qui repose dans un nom."*<sup>7</sup>

But this seems to be an ardent imagination. Robert does not provide any evidence to substantiate the linkages. And what is more, he does not take into account at all the two Stratos. If proper names must be discussed to find out the ethnic origin or a meaningful genesis of historical role of a family, I do not see why we should be so selective in favour of one, even if it is exotic or rare, against two, for we have Strato, the son and Strato, the father. L. Robert dismisses consideration of the Stratos in just a sentence in parenthesis "(car, en bactriane, le nom n'a pas dû surgir dans la famille de Straton seulement à l'époque de cette inscription)".<sup>8</sup> If Tribballos is linked with the tribe of Triballes do we have the evidence to link the Stratos too to the same people? It would be more significant to trace the origin of the senior Strato, the father of Tribballos and Strato, the junior. On the other hand, Strato is a familiar name in the history of the Bactrian and Indian Greeks. Not only there were two Stratos among the Indo-Greek kings<sup>9</sup> but also there were others whose names have been read

1 *Ibid.*, p. 208.

2 *Ibid.*, loc. cit., cf. IG., II.2.1951, 23; F. Bechtel, *Die Historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle (1917), p. 543. (It is much disputed whether it refers to the battle at Arginusae, or whether the inscription is to be dated in the early fourth century B.C.)

3 Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

4 *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

5 *Ibid.*, loc. cit.; cf. A. Bernard, *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, 1957, *Les inscriptions Grecques d'Abou-Simbel*, p. 30, n. 22.

6 *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 209.

9 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 110-11, 146-48.

on the Ai-Khanoum "Treasury" Ostraca.<sup>1</sup> In the absence of any royal title attached to the name it is difficult to identify them with their royal namesakes. But surely they occupied a prominent status in the city of Ai Khanum. The Strato of the Ostraca inscriptions too may be a later member of this family. But if the inscription can be dated in the middle decades of the 2nd century B.C., which is not out of question,<sup>2</sup> their royal identity may not be ruled out, in which case Triballoos would be the "left out" brother, who was either superceded in a succession struggle or who predeceased the brother Strato of the inscription.

It is true that Alexander's army included not only Macedonians but Greeks from various cities and nations as well as Iranians and mercenaries of different ethnic elements. Thracians were also part of it. But there is no evidence to indicate that the family of Strato, only one of whose sons had a Thracian name, was a part of the band wagon of Alexander. It is already known that there were people belonging to the various cities and nations from Asia Minor and Greece settled in Afghanistan even before Alexander, during the Achaemenid rule. Strato's family could be descended from either the pre-Alexander settlers or from the later wave of them; there is nothing to prove this way or the other. Generally the classical sources give the city or national origins of the key officers and prominent personnel related to Alexander's campaign and to the time of his immediate successors. It is not uncommon for the "new" or "recent" settlers to remember or mention their national affiliations. On the other hand the absence of such announcements is understandable in the case of descendants of old settlers who had lived in the region for several generations and had become a part of the local milieu. So, unless there is definite evidence to bring Triballoos from Thrace, and Kineas from Thessaly, either as part of Alexander's army or in the time of Seleucus I, we have no alternative but to accept them as part of the Bactrian Greek melting-pot, where names and identities of diverse nations had already been mixed up.

Thus the contents of these inscriptions do not provide definite connections with known historical persons and their activities, or with known historical events and other prosopographical indications, and therefore some of the vital criteria for dating the inscriptions are lacking in our case. Even the character of the monument does not offer a definitive clue, for according to Bernard it is the inscription referring to Clearchus which "luckily for architecture offers a precious chronological benchmark,"<sup>3</sup> and not the other way round. The archaeological contextualisation of Ai Khanoum also is of no help. Bernard admits the uncertainties in both absolute and relative chronology of the different periods of Ai Khanoum and notes "the extreme complexity of the stratigraphy and the architectural phases for the oldest periods."<sup>4</sup>

On palaeographical grounds L. Robert dates the Kineas-Clearchus epigraphs "from the beginning of the third century B.C."<sup>5</sup> and notes later "*On ne saurait dire de quand datait*

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1 Rapin, *BCH.*, 1983, pp. 328, 334; cf. inscription Nos. 5 and 8 in Group II above.

2 See *infra*.

3 Bernard, *Fouilles I*, p. 105

4 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

5 Robert, *Fouilles I*, p. 213.

*ce document. Du moins est-il assuré qu'il était en place au début du III<sup>e</sup> siècle au plus tard.*"<sup>1</sup> He dates the Strato-Triballos one "around the middle of the third century, not too early" ("*Je daterais cette inscription vers le milieu du III<sup>e</sup> siècle, pas trop tôt*"),<sup>2</sup> I cannot agree more with Robert in dating the Strato-Triballos epigraph about fifty years later than the Kineas-Clearchus ones. But I find it difficult to agree with him in dating the latter from the beginning of the third century B.C.

Robert observes<sup>3</sup> that the cutting of the Kineas epigram is "assuredly of the late Hellenistic era." Without going into the analysis of the form of each letter, as he did in the case of Aśoka inscriptions from Kandahar, he notes only that "for this epigram, as it happens and as Adolf Wilhelm has shown on several occasions, they chose a type of writing recalling the manuscripts, and that comparisons are to be made with the papyri." He concludes that "this text must be from the beginning of the third century, well before the inscriptions of Aśoka and noticeably before the act of enfranchisement of Hyrcania."<sup>4</sup> Aware of the difference in the forms of letters used in the epigram and the maxims on the same base, Robert notes that this difference is not on account of its chronology but because of its style, and that the maxims are not later in date. The epigram is in the lapidary style recalling the papyrus and that the maxims is in monumental.<sup>5</sup> Robert seems also to give more importance to the similarity and purpose of the monuments at Miletropolis and Ai Khanum than to palaeographic comparisons.<sup>6</sup> This is intricately linked also with his assumptions of the identities and dates of Kineas and Clearchus,<sup>7</sup> but it is interesting to note a irking ambivalence in his judgement when he concludes later,<sup>8</sup>

*"On ne saurait dire de quand datait ce document. Du moins est-il assuré qu'il était en place au début du III<sup>e</sup> siècle au plus tard. Il est inutile d'exposer par quelles conjectures on pourrait le situer dans le cours due IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. entre la date que je viens d'indiquer et la reconstruction du temple de Delphes apres 373."*

One may note here in passing that it is strange that in spite of this statement of Robert and Bernard's own observation about "the complexity of the stratigraphy and the architectural phases for the oldest period" and "the uncertainties in both absolute and relative chronology," the first stage of the temenos of Kineas has been dated in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C."<sup>9</sup>

1 *Ibid.*, p. 223.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 210

3 *Ibid.*, p. 213

4 For the Hyrcanian document see, *Hellenica*, XI-XII, chapter VII, pp. 85-91, plate V. This is dated between 281 and 260

5 *Ibid.*, p. 215

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 222-23

7 For he dates Clearchus in the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C. and feels assured that he was an immediate disciple of Aristotle. But see W. Walbank, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 248, where he dates Clearchus (c. 340-250 B.C.) and others. If Clearchus had met Megasthenes and had read his *Indika* as is generally agreed it is most likely that Clearchus was closer to the middle decades of third century B.C. and was certainly not an immediate disciple of Aristotle. See Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-34, note 167 for relevant discussion and sources.

8 Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 223

9 Bernard, *Fouilles I*, p. 105.

About the writing on the dedicatory epigraph of Strato-Triballos Robert observes<sup>1</sup> that it is "*profonde, large et aérée*," and the points for comparison are inscriptions of Hyrcania dated between 281 and 260, the two inscriptions of Aśoka in Kandahar of about 250 and at the latest the two examples in Media of the edicts of Antiochus III in 193, both strictly contemporary and however much different in their writing (*si différents dans leur écriture*). He notes that this inscription is short; it does not have *pi*, a characteristic letter (*ainsi il n'y a pas de pi, lettre assez caractéristique*). Robert would date this inscription "around the middle of the third century B.C.; not too early (*pas trop tôt*)," and he cannot say "if it is still under the Seleucid regime or already when the kingdom of Bactria is installed."

The ambivalence noticeable in Robert's statements in respect of both the Kineas-Clearchus and Strato-Triballos inscriptions is understandable. Palaeographical evidence based primarily on letter-forms and style is far less precise and secure than often supposed and one must turn to it for dating only as a final refuge. As Woodhead has observed<sup>2</sup>:

"It is at its most valuable in the early period, in the seventh, sixth and fifth centuries, when the continual and rapid development of the epichoric alphabets and their gradual assimilation to an Ionic koine— — — make it possible to suggest, on the basis of the appearance of the letters alone, a date sometimes within a decade or two."

"By the end of the fifth century the letters and technique of writing them had completed their necessary development."

"The introduction of new letter-forms may be dated in a general way, on the basis of inscriptions showing the new forms which are themselves datable on other grounds. This helps to provide a *terminus post quem* which may prove useful in other cases in which no additional criteria will serve to suggest a date. There is, however, seldom a *terminus ante quem*. Styles once introduced tend to persist, side by side with both earlier and later fashions. The classical style of the fourth century B.C. was never wholly eclipsed, even though the decorated and baroque styles of the Hellenistic period exceeded it for a while in general popularity, and it had — — — a marked revival in the classicising movement of the time of Trajan and Hadrian. Monumental inscriptions of buildings or imposing statue-groups and memorials often favoured a purity and simplicity of style at a time when monuments of lesser moment rioted in a profusion of exotic by-forms and a tedious abundance of apices. Thus it has proved possible for the most eminent epigraphic authorities to be widely at variance on the date of a text as assessed by the forms of its letters."

"Another point to remember is that a style is not everywhere uniform and contemporaneous. A fashion in one part of the Greek world does not necessarily permit a text from elsewhere, showing similar characteristics in its lettering to be assigned to the same period."

1 Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

2 A.G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*, 2nd edn., Cambridge, 1981. Chapter V on "The Dating of Inscriptions".

The problem indeed becomes more compounded when this comparison involves a vast geography and diverse cultural elements and transformations, which cannot be ignored in the case of the epigraphs from Ai-Khanoum. The factor of place is no important than that of time. It has been noted that "Greek linguistic influence outside the centres of culture was variable and complex,"<sup>1</sup> and "the knowledge and use of Greek differed sharply according to locality even in a homeland of the "oriental Greeks."<sup>2</sup> I have already discussed elsewhere the numismatic epigraphy of the Indo-Greek coins and shown how unreliable it is to base conclusions on it alone.<sup>3</sup>

Something of a parallel to the letters of the Kineas Clearchus inscription may be seen in O. Kern, <sup>4</sup> *Inscriptiones Graecae*, No. 35 (from Tenos in the British Museum) published as IG. XII. 5, No. 872 where Hiller von Gaertringen compared papyrus hands of late IV-early III centuries, and then consulted M. Holleaux, who suggested late III or early II, and A. Wilhelm, who like Hiller, compared papyrus hands and opted for IV-III centuries.<sup>5</sup> This is an example to bear in mind. Joyce Reynolds and I have compared the illustrations of the inscriptions referred to by Robert e.g. the Teheran text published in *Hellenica XI-XII*,<sup>6</sup> which has to be between 281 and 261. We can see many points of comparison and occasional differences (notably over the two) but doubt very much if the differences are in any way decisive.

The terms of geographical horizon it is realistic to compare the Ai-Khanoum inscriptions with the four other inscriptions recently discovered in Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia, namely, the two Aśokan texts<sup>7</sup> and the fragmentary inscription of the hypothetical son of Aristonax at Kandahar<sup>8</sup>, and the dedicatory one of Atrosokes at Takhti-Sangin.<sup>9</sup> The last is nearest in location to Ai-Khanoum and naturally attracts our attention first. Litvinsky and Pichikyan, date this dedication of Atrosokes on the altar "to the middle of the 2nd century B.C., that is to the last decades before the fall of Graeco-Bactria."<sup>10</sup> The two Kandahar inscriptions are separated by only a few hundred yards from each other. It is generally agreed that the Aśokan edict there date from about the middle of the third

1 R.B. Whitehead, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1950, p. 209.

2 *Ibid.*, 1944, p. 104.

3 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-59

4 Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Bonnae 1913, p. xv.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Cp. pl. V in *Hellenica XI-XII*. for ch. VII, pp. 85-91.

7 *East and West*, 1959, pp. 185-91; *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, pp. 1-48, Pl. IV, 1964, pp. 137-57; *CRAI*, 1964, pp. 126-40; *JRAS*, 1972, pp. 111-18.

8 P.M. Fraser, "The Son of Aristonax at Kandahar", *Afghan Studies*, Vol. 2 (1979), pp. 9-18.

9 B.A. Litvinsky and I.R. Pichikyan, "Monuments of Art from the Sanctuary of Oxus (North Bactria)", *Acta Antiqua, Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Tomus, XXVIII fasc. 1-4, 1980, pp. 25-83. Also, Litvinsky and Pichikyan, "The Temple of the Oxus," *JRAS*, 1981, pp. 133-67, esp. p. 154. One may also recall here the 1974 discovery of the first Greek inscription in Bactria, at Nimlik-tepe, consisting of only five letters, ATPOΣ on a postsherd (cf. D. Schlumberger, *CRAI*, 1947, pp. 241-42). Could this be related to Atrosokos?

10 *Ibid.*, p. 63, also note 214: V. a. Livishits and Ju. G. Vinogradov agree with Litvinsky and Pichikyan, but some Soviet scholars are inclined to an earlier date i.e., "turn of the 3rd century - beginning of the 2nd century B.C."



century.<sup>1</sup> Fraser would like to propose a date of c. 275 B.C. for the fragmentary inscription referring to Aristonax.<sup>2</sup> But his ambivalence is clear when he observes that dogmatism on this point would be rash, that "a date between 300 and 275/250 seems likely to represent the overall limits", and that "this cannot be regarded as providing a precise date for the interpretation and historical context of the inscription."<sup>3</sup> While I propose to deal with the content and interpretation of the historical context of these three inscriptions in a separate paper, I still cannot see reason, at least on palaeographical grounds, to be so confident as


1 Fraser dates the bilingual Aśokan edict of Kandahar in c. 258 and notes that "the date cannot be in doubt within more than a year so (259/8-285/7)", he gives his reasons, *op. cit.*, 10 and note 18 on p. 15. But this is open to many questions. It is true that the chronology of Aśoka's reign is fairly well settled, cf., P.H.L. Eggermont, *The Chronology of the Reign of Aśoka Moriya*, (Leiden, 1956), pp. 86, 144 ff, 161 and R. Thapar, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas* (O.U.P. 1961), pp. 32-33. but it is not so in the case of the engraving of his edicts D.R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, (University of Calcutta, 1955), pp. 244-53; R. Thapar, *op. cit.*, pp. 166 ff. The whole problem of the dating of the Aśokan edicts is being freshly examined in detail by me in a separate paper. It is clear that while the second Kandahar edict (the purely Greek one) of Aśoka is a part of the "Corpus" known as the "Fourteen-Rock-Edicts", the bilingual Kandahar edict does not belong in the category of "Minor-Rock-Edicts" but in the group of "independent" or "special" minor rock inscriptions (i.e., not like MREs, I and II but like the Bhabru edict). The Fourteen-Rock-Edicts is a package of documents, copies of which were engraved in different scripts and languages in ten locations, so far known, spread out in the various regions of Aśoka's empire. So also copies of MREs I and II were engraved in as many as thirteen (or 14) places. (D.C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 1). It is difficult to imagine that all the ten sets of copies of Fourteen-Rock-Edicts were engraved at one and the same time. But there is no reason to doubt that an individual set of copies were engraved at one and the same time at a particular site selected for it. This is evident, on the one hand, from the sequential arrangement of the fourteen inscriptions of the corpus and on the other hand, from the sequential arrangement of the fourteen inscriptions of the corpus and on the other hand from the varying dates in five of them without conforming to any sequence. Rock Edict Nos. III and IV refer to the 12th year, V to the 13th, VIII to the 10th and XIII to the 8th year after the consecration of Aśoka. And these dates are not the dates of their engraving but of some significant events, royal proclamations or dictations. One can only fix the chronological limits within which they must have been engraved. If the earliest limit can only be the 13th year after Aśoka's coronation the latest can be the 27th year after his coronation, if we follow D.R. Bhandarkar's view that the Fourteen-Rock-Edicts were engraved after the Seven-Pillar-Edicts. This means that these R.Es. were engraved between 256/1 and 242/1 B.C. Without going into the question of whether or not the M.R. Es. and "independent/Special" minor rock inscriptions were engraved before or after the Fourteen-Rock-Edicts and/or Seven-Pillar-Edicts, the internal evidence of the Kandahar bilingual text indicates only that it could not have been engraved before ten years were completed from Aśoka's consecration. It is not clear how long after the moment of Aśoka's showing of *Dhamma* to mankind was this inscription engraved at the far western end of his empire. Since this edict represents a summary of Aśoka's general principles of *Dhamma*, and recounts his own achievements and expresses hope for future, it is more likely that it was engraved in the later, rather than earlier, part of his reign. In any case I do not feel inclined to date it before c. 250 B.C.

2 Fraser, *op. cit.* p. 10.

3 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

Robert, and following him Fraser, in dating the Kineas-Clearchus inscription at Kandahar before that of Aśoka.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps more discoveries and less subjective approach may help in fixing their chronology.

One small but very significant piece of evidence does not permit much speculation.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately it escaped the attention of Bernard. Among the bricks used in the construction of the tomb of Kineas there are some of exceptionally large size (53 × 49 cm. × 9 cm.) which were used to cover the sarcophagus. One of these which Bernard has illustrated in his report has a Greek monogram and a Brahmi letter stamped on it. Both are juxtaposed in an incuse of rectangular frame. The monogram is  and the Brahmi letter is for  Jha.<sup>3</sup> The monogram is very well known and has been a subject of discussion for long. It is agreed that it consists of three letters which according to some stood for Diodotus and indicated the phase of his career when he was reaching out for independence of Bactria.<sup>4</sup> According to others it denoted the usual mint or moneyer's mark but did belong to the period of Diodotus.<sup>5</sup> It was thought by some to represent Dionysopolis.<sup>6</sup>

The Brahmi letter  (Jha), though the standard and typical form known from the inscriptions of Aśoka, can be later than the time of Aśoka but not earlier. In Aśokan edicts this may be found in as many as thirteen places.<sup>7</sup> But this letter-form hardly registers any change in the century following that of Aśoka.<sup>8</sup> It is important to realise that Aśoka used Kharoṣṭhi script and not Brahmi for his edicts in Gandhāra.<sup>9</sup> It is only after him that Brahmi appears for the first time alongwith Kharoṣṭhi, on some local "Negama coins from Taxila,"<sup>10</sup> as well as on some bilingual coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles, who were the only Indo-Greek kings to use Brahmi instead of Kharoṣṭhi, on them.<sup>11</sup> These coins and their

- 1 Fraser notes that the second Kandahar edict of Aśoka is written in more cursive hand resembling in some respects the poem of Klearchos at Ai-Khānoum (*op. cit.*, p. 14, n. 2). It is not clear if he would date the Klearchos inscription, therefore, later than what has been proposed by Robert.
- 2 I refer to the bricks described by Bernard in *Fouilles I*, pp. 9-10, 87-88. Bernard notes (p. 9) that the significance of symbol on the brick escapes him (*La signification du second signe nous échappe*).
- 3 See Figure 'a', plate 97 in *Fouilles I*.
- 4 Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 72-74, *contra*, Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 14-15.
- 5 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15, Newell, *Eastern Seleucid Mints*, pp. 228-49, esp. 245-46.
- 6 Gardner, NC, 1879, p. 12, *contra*, H. Howorth, NC, 1888, pp. 293-99.
- 7 C. S. Upasak, *The History and Palaeography of Mauryan Brahmi Script*, Nalanda (Patna) 1960, p. 69. This is found in Rock Edicts of Girnar, Kalsi, Dhaulti, Jaugada and Erragudi, Pillar Edicts of Delhi-Topra, Delhi-Minathi, Lauria-Araraj, Lauriya Nandangarh, Rampurva and Allahabad-Kosam, and separate Rock Edicts of Dhaulti and Jaugada.
- 8 See A.H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, Oxford, 1963, esp. 59-61 and compare pl. V a No. 6 for an example from Barhi fragmentary inscription of first century B.C.; VI a, No. 2 for Sanchi series; No. 1 of early first century B.C.; No. 6 for Bharhut series; No. 1 of late first century B.C. It hardly registers any change until at least first century A.D. (See Dani, pl. VIII a too).
- 9 A.H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-61, who states "it was influence of Greek writing and Greek technicians that gave a new face to Indian Brahmi" (p. 60). One may also recall the use of Brahmi by Heliodorus, an envoy of Antialcidas, king of Taxila, to Bhagabhadra in his Besnagar Pillar inscription.
- 10 E.J. Rapson, "Counter-marks on early Persian and Indian Coins, *JRAS.*, 1895, pp. 865-77.
- 11 Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, Chicago, 1966, pp. 9, 11 and pl. III, 9 and IV, 9.

significance have already been discussed elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Bactria was not included in the empire of Aśoka, nor was it part of the territory ceded to Chandragupta by Seleucus. On the other hand, not only the bilingual coins, with Brāhmi legend, of Agathocles have been found in Ai-Khanoum<sup>2</sup> but the Ostraca writings from its "Treasury" inform us about the *Karshapanas* from Taxila reaching there.<sup>3</sup> Use of Brāhmi letter in Ai-Khanoum can hardly be dated before the time of Agathocles, who reigned from c. 185 to 165 B.C.<sup>4</sup> The Kineas-Clearchus inscription therefore can hardly be in any case earlier than Aśokan edicts from Kandahar. Most probably it is dated from the third quarter of the third century B.C. and not in the beginning of the third century B.C. as Robert thought. Since Robert is right in dating the Strato-Triballos epigraph about fifty years later than that of Kineas-Clearchus one, we would date that inscription in the second half of the second century B.C.<sup>5</sup>

Now returning to inscriptions which I have included in Group II, it is clear that they belong to a different category altogether. These writings on the Ostraca, which were found in the excavation seasons of 1977 and 1978, are documents of administrative nature and deal with accounting in what the excavators call the "Treasury". The medium and technique of writing and the material on which they are written are different from the inscriptions of Group I.<sup>6</sup> Comparatively they are larger in number<sup>7</sup> but they are so fragmentary that complete restoration of their contents is not possible.<sup>8</sup> But the message of their content is evident from what has survived.<sup>9</sup> While it is not assuring to comment on the nature, date and contents of these writings without examining the material firsthand I cannot help making a few observations on some of them on the basis of the published information and illustrations.

- 1 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60; these coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles are definitely later than the local Negama coins of Taxila (see also Dani, *op. cit.* p. 60)
- 2 Bernard, *RN*, 1974, pp. 7-41; also Narain, *JNSI*, 1973, pp. 73-77.
- 3 Rapin, *BCH*, pp. 329-30. See *supra*, pp. 128-29, No. 5 in Group II and my translation of it.
- 4 See Narain, "The Earliest Brahmi Inscription outside India", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1986. Also A.H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-62.
- 5 It may be noted that Strato I reigned from c. 130 to 95 B.C., see Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 110-11 and the chronological chart on p. 181. Also attention may be drawn to the Strato of Ostraca inscriptions of Ai Khanoum.
- 6 Most of these inscriptions are written in Indian ink while some appear engraved (*gravées*) after baking. (Rapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-17).
- 7 They are about forty in number written on thirty different vessels. They include 3 non-Greek writings, one graffito and one estampage. As against these the monumental inscriptions are few in number which includes a fragmentary one consisting of only seven letters not included in our Group I above. In Group II, I have included only nine of the forty from the Ostraca.
- 8 With the possible exception of No. 3 of Group II there is hardly any which is complete. Most of the selected ones in Group II have, however, only a few words missing. No. 2 has been selected in spite of its very incomplete nature because of the occurrence of the figure which may represent a date. About the fragmentary nature of these writings and their restoration, see Rapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-49.
- 9 Bernard and Rapin, *BEFEO*, 1980, pp. 10-38; Rapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 351 ff. Bernard and Rapin think that these vessels are part of royal treasury. But I think the possibility that they could be part of a merchant-banker's warehouse needs consideration.



The "cursive capital type" of these Ai-Khanoum documents have been compared with those of the Mediterranean world, particularly of Ptolemaic administration.<sup>1</sup> Rapin, however, recognises that there is insufficient evidence to determine its typology<sup>2</sup>. After making some specific comparisons he admits that "in spite of evident signs of kinship, the comparison with the Ptolemaic palaeography does not allow in itself to date exactly our texts."<sup>3</sup> His statement that "let us say any way that they do not show any anomaly in relation to the writing current in the III century and in the first half of the second century B.C.,"<sup>4</sup> is not only a weak judgement indeed but it seems misleading. I do not see any reason to travel so far in the west to Egypt to explain the nuances of the writings so far in the east as Badakshan. Neither has any reason for the linkage between the two ends been given. I think it is a local development and clues have to be found in closer geographical limits.

No doubt these inscriptions are palaeographically later than those of Group I.<sup>5</sup> If the dates I have suggested earlier for the Kineas-Clearchus and Strato-Triballos inscriptions are accepted, these writings on the Ostraca may be dated from the second half of the second century B.C., that is, a couple of decades later than what Bernard and Rapin would like us to accept.

Some of these inscriptions have been supposed to refer to a date. At least in one of them "year 24" is mentioned.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps in another the figure 38 might also refer to a date.<sup>6</sup> It is not clear whether these figures refer to a regnal year or a date in calendrical reckoning system.<sup>8</sup> But Bernard and Rapin suggest that the year 24 is related to an era named after Eucratides.<sup>9</sup> This suggestion has already caught the imagination of others.<sup>10</sup> The problem

1 Rapin, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 350, "nos textes sont en nombre insuffisant pour permettre de dresser une typologie."

3 *Ibid.*, p. 350, "malgré des traits de parenté évidents, la comparaison avec la paléographie ptolémaïque ne permet pas, en elle-même, de dater précisément nos textes."

4 *Ibid.*, p. 350, "Disons en tout cas qu'ils ne présentent aucune anomalie par rapport à l'écriture courante du III<sup>e</sup> siècle et de la première moitié du II<sup>e</sup> av. J.-C."

5 This is accepted by Bernard and Rapin too. Bernard & c., *BEFEO*, Tome, LXVIII, 1980, pp. 15-19; Rapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 349-51.

6 No. 1 of Group II; cf. Rapin, *op. cit.*, p. 320, fig. 3 a-b.

7 No. 2 of Group II; Rapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-24, No. 3, fig. 6. The last letter of before the numeral figure 38 is faintly visible in the Fig. 6a, the sherd broken at that point.

8 Bernard & c., *BEFEO*, Tome LXVIII, 1980, pp. 24-27, consider both the possibilities but in both cases like to tie it to Eucratides. It may be noted, however, that quite unlike the usual practice the inscription does not give the name of the king to whose regnal year or to whose era it is supposed to refer. Even the one and only instance of dating in an Indo-Greek inscription, i.e. the Bajaur Inscription known before Ai-Khanoum for example the name of the king, Menander, is mentioned after a possible numeral figure (see, Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 144 and *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 1-8).

9 Bernard & c., *BEFEO*, Tome LXVIII, 1980, pp. 24-27; Rapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 367-70

10 Fussman, *BEFEO*, Tome LXVII, 1980 pp. 36-42; Holt.

of dates and identification of eras are so vexing that I would prefer not to make it unnecessarily more complicated by introducing a new candidate,<sup>1</sup> particularly when the candidate is weak. I have already discussed the career of Eucratides in detail and have shown that the picture drawn of him by Tarn is not justified.<sup>2</sup> Since my last work on the subject I do not find any evidence substantial enough to change the image of Eucratides; though it delinks him from the Seleucid designs, it does not deprive him of the qualities of military leadership, and of his successes, to entitle him to be one of the half a dozen Indo-Greek kings, out of about forty, whose names alone have survived in whatever meager literary sources we have about them. The only new evidence brought to light is the reference in Aelian.<sup>3</sup> It states, in connection with the pearl-oysters of India, that there was "a city of which one Soras by name was ruler, a man of royal lineage, at the time when Eucratides was ruler of Bactria."<sup>4</sup> This is hardly more enlightening than the information we already have from Strabo<sup>5</sup> and Justin,<sup>6</sup> sources much earlier than Aelian. In fact Eucratides' contemporaneity with Mithridates known from Justin<sup>7</sup> is more rewarding in fixing his date than Aelian's reference to Soras. For the identity and date of Soras, who must be one of the Chōla kings of South India, is unknown.<sup>8</sup> If at all, a reference to Eucratides might help to locate the date of this Chōla king but not *vice versa*. This hardly adds to our knowledge to justify Bernard's answer to his own question: "Who was then the Greco-Bactrian king powerful and ambitious enough to take around the end of the first quarter of the second century B.C. the decision of creating an era of his own? It cannot be anybody else but Eucratides."<sup>9</sup> As we have noted, there were other "powerful and "ambitious kings also among the Greco-Bactrians in that period.<sup>10</sup> If we must look for a date in the first quarter of the second century B.C. for the beginning of an era to which the year 24 of the Ostraca might belong there is more than one claimant, e.g., Demetrius I and II, who ruled from c. 200-185 and 180-165 respectively, Agathocles who ruled from c. 180 to 165 and even Antimachus I (190-180). All these kings who were members of the rival family of Euthydemus appear to have much better claims than that of Eucratides in almost every respect.<sup>11</sup> If it is a question of "ambition" and

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1 I have discussed the problem of eras in the Kharōshthi inscriptions in detail in my forthcoming books on the Śakas and the Kushānas.

2 Narain, *op. cit.*, chapter III *passim*.

3 Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals* (Loeb classical library series, ed. and translated by A.F., Scholfield in 3 volumes, London, 1958) XV. 8. See also J.W. Mc Crindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 143-44.

4 *Ibid.*, XV.8 (Loeb series, Vol. 3, pp. 218-19).

5 Strabo, XI. 11-2, XV. 1.3

6 Justin, xli. 6.

7 Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

8 K.A., Nilakantha Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India* (University of Madras, 1972), p. 61, note 1 according to whom Soras is from Sola (Tamil).

9 Bernard & c. *BEFEO*, Tome LXVIII, 1980, pp. 24-27.

10 Narain, *op. cit.*, Chapters III and IV *passim*. It is relevant to recall here the statement made by Strabo (XI.11.1) about Menander.

11 For their dates and career, see Narain *op. cit.*, Chapters II and III and p. 181.

visibility, the number of commemorative medals issued by Agathocles<sup>1</sup> makes him too as a possible founder of the era used for the dating on the Ostraca. A quantitative analysis of the Indo-Greek coinage found in Ai-Khanoum also favours the Euthydemids as effective masters of the city rather than Eucratides,<sup>2</sup> who was in fact an interloper, who, in spite of his success against Demetrius, was murdered in cold blood by either his own son<sup>3</sup> or by a son of Demetrius.<sup>4</sup> Starting of an era and its usage by those who follow depends much upon the popularity of the person or the event, and above all its acceptance by those who come after. A parricide would hardly be interested in either starting or using a reckoning system from the date of Eucratides' accession to the throne. Nor would the rival family of Euthydemus and Demetrius be interested in remembering him. Moreover, there is nothing in the inscription itself to link the name of Eucratides with the date. The only Indo-Greek king so far known to have been linked with a possible date in an inscription is Menander.<sup>4</sup> We have the option of using the Yavana era starting in c. 155 B.C.,<sup>6</sup> for dating the Ostraca inscription. But we must wait for more evidence before we can exercise that option. Palaeographically too I do not think of any problem in doing so. The inscription will then be dated in 131 B.C. In fact the occurrence of the name of more than one Strato in the Gymnasium as well as on the Ostraca is tempting to find linkages with Menander's family. On the other hand the role and visibility of Agathocles in Ai-Khanoum, use of Brāhmi letters by him and linkage with Taxila do not rule out Agathocles' accession and the occasion of striking the commemorative medals<sup>7</sup> as good reasons for starting a reckoning system. Be

- 1 See for a discussion on the importance and significance of these medals, Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 446-51; Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56. The recent discovery of his medal commemorating his elder brother Pantaleon, probably from Ai-Khanoum, further strengthens our belief (cf. Henri-Paul Francfort, "Deux Nouveaux Tétradrachmes commémoratifs d'Agathocle", *Revue Numismatique*, 1975, pp. 19-22 for this coin).
- 2 Compare the number of coins bearing the name of Euthydemus and those who may be associated with his family found at Ai-Khanoum with those bearing the name of Eucratides. In the 1973 finding there was only one coin of Eucratides (*Revue Numismatique*, 1975, pp. 23-57). Earlier in the campaigns of 1965-68 at Ai-Khanoum there were 7 coins of Euthydemus against 2 of Eucratides (*Fouilles I*, pp. 203-05). See also the numbers listed in F. Holt, "The Euthydemid coinage of Bactria: Further Hoard Evidence from Ai Khanoum", *Revue Numismatique*, 1981, pp. 7-44.
- 3 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.
- 4 Tarn, p. 220. See also, A. D. H. Bivar, "The death of Eucratides in Mediaeval Tradition, *JRAS.*, 1950, pp. 7-13. Tarn's statement that he was killed by the Parthians is untenable, cf. G. K. Jenkins, *NC.*, 1951, p. 16, Narain, *op. cit.* p. 70.
- 5 "Bajaur Cashet Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 1-8, XXVII, pp. 52-58. Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80 and Pl. VI 1.
- 6 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-44; also Narain, "Date of Kaniska" in A. L. Basham (ed.).
- 7 Compared to Agathocles the commemorative medal issued by Eucratides commemorating Heliokles and Laodice is hardly impressive. The gold 20-stater is a freak issued to vaunt a sudden acquisition of wealth by an interloper. A later and not a very well known king Amyntas also issued large silver decadrachms and assumed the title of "autocrator".

that as it may, either Agathocles or Menander, but certainly not Eucratides. Bernard has, of course, not ruled out the possibility of accepting the year 24 as simply a regnal year of Eucratides<sup>1</sup> instead of belonging to an era starting from his accession. But there again, it does not go with the evidence we have about the length of his reign. Twenty four years is more than our evidence permits.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, there is the figure 38 in another fragmentary writing in Group II. If that too belongs to the same system we have to agree for at least 38 years of Eucratides' reign which is impossible. Whether or not Eucratides was the last king to have ruled over Ai-Khanum before its destruction, and other details, are matters of more discussion, which I propose to do in another article. Suffice it to observe here that linking this issue with the year 24 with Eucratides is begging the question.

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1 Bernard & c., *BEFEO*, Tome LXVIII, 1980, pp. 24-27.

2 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-73, esp. p. 53 and 73.

## No. 19—TWO TAMIL CAVE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

(1 Plate)

M.D. Sampath, Mysore.

The two Tamil Cave Brahmi inscriptions edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, were copied by me and included in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1990-91. Out of these two, one was copied from the caves of Tirumalai hills near Kilappūṅḡuḍi in Sivaganga Taluk of former Ramnad District. The village Kilappūṅḡuḍi is situated at a distance of 25 kms. from Melūr in Madurai District. The second one is from the cave locally called Uṇḍāṅkal near the village Vikkiramāṅgalam in Madurai District.

The records under study are classified herender as *A* and *B* for the sake of convenience. Record *A* was noticed earlier by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras, and a paper on the same was presented by Sri N. Kasinathan, Director of Archaeology, Madras at a seminar conducted by the Tamil University, Thanjavur in 1990. The different readings suggested by the members of the above department have not been published so far.

The text reads as follows :

Ekkatu-ur Kāvitikan koriya pali-y

Engraved on the eyebrow of the cave, this archaic record is not easily visible to the naked eye.

The **language** of the record is Tamil and the **script** employed is called Dāmili or Tamil-Brahmi. Though the name Dāmili is eminently applicable to the alphabet of the archaic cave records of Tamil Nadu, on the score that their script got so evolved to suit Dravidian phonology, yet the name Tamil-Brahmi has persisted with the academicians. In fact, the nomenclature Tamil-Brahmi has gained near-universal currency on account of our reluctance to accept a more suitable terminology.

It is written in a single line and the engraving is shallow. The record may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to c. 2nd Century B.C.

The inscription registers the fact that the cave (*pali*) was caused to be scooped out by one Kāvitikan of (the place) Ekkatu-ur.

The interesting feature of the record is the absence of the inherent *a* vowel value in the consonants, the use of two consonants side by side as full letters instead of a conjunct form (*samyuktakshara*) as seen in the expression *Ekkatu*<sup>o</sup>. Like the records from Māṅḡḷam and other places, this record exhibits the indigenous forms, especially the use of letters for the Dravidian sounds *ṛ* and *n*. The medial vowel signs for *a* and *ā* are identical and the same cau

TWO TAMIL CAVE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS TIRUMALAI



*K V Ramesh*

*Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII*

TWO TAMIL CAVE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS VIKKIRAMANGALAM



*K. V. Ramesh*

*Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII*

be distinguished only by invoking a knowledge of the language. The symbol *u* (medial) in the word *Ekkātu-ūr* stands for the long sound *ū* only. The above features can be called pre-evolutionary ones. The letter forms *ṇ*, *ṛ* figuring in this record show some similarities to the ones found in the Maṅḡlam records.<sup>1</sup>

This is one of the early Tamil cave Brahmi records showing the basic forms of the alphabet. To these basic forms have been added special Dravidian sounds like *ṛ* and *ṇ* to suit the Dravidian phonology. The earliest Tamil cave Brahmi records have been elsewhere assigned to the pre-Aśokan period on account of the occurrence of the rudimentary type of scriptal forms.<sup>2</sup>

The place *Ekkātu-ūr* may be identified with *Erukātūr* figuring in the cave Brahmi record from Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam<sup>3</sup> and *Ekkatturu* referred to in the *Vaṭṭeḷuttu* inscription<sup>4</sup> from Pillaiyarpatti in Ramnad District.

The term *Kaviti* seems to indicate 'a title'. In the record of the Pāṇḍyas of the 8th-10th century A.D., the expression *kavidi* occurs and has been taken to signify a revenue officer and petty official.<sup>5</sup> *Kavitikaṇ* occurring in the present record is suggestive of a personal name rather than a title. The word *koṛiy°* may be taken to mean 'to scoop out.'

Record *B*, engraved on the inner face of a rocky out-crop at Vikkiramāṅgalam, was first noticed by Sri N. Kasinathan, Director of Archaeology, Madras. It was subsequently copied by this office in 1990. This place has so far yielded five inscriptions, of which four are found engraved on the beds of the cave and one is found engraved on the eye-brow of the cave.<sup>6</sup>

The **language** of the record is Tamil and the **script** employed is Dāṃili or Tamil-Brahmi. On palaeographical grounds, this record may be placed later to the record *A* discussed above. The present inscription may be assigned to 1st Century B.C., on the basis of palaeography. The text reads :

Erayal Ara-iytaṇ chevitaōṇ

The **purport** of the record is that (this bed/cave) was caused to be made by Ara-iytaṇ of Erayal.

1 See the 'Corpus of Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions' by Iravatham Mahadevan in the *Seminar on Inscriptions* (ed.) by R. Nagaswamy, pp. 69 ff., Nos. 3 and 5.

2 Paper on the 'Origin and dissemination of the Brahmi script' by K. V. Ramesh presented at the Tamil University Symposium 1988.

3 I. Mahadevan, *Ibid.*, p. 65, No. 51.

4 *Contra*: *Corpus of Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 75.

5 *SIL*, Vol. XIV, p. 12. In the Tamil poem *Maduraik-Kaṇchi*, the term *kavidi* is used in the sense of a title given to experienced and capable ministers. The Tamil *Nighantu* explains this term as 'an accountant'. It is used in the sense of a title given to a warrior in the Melpatti inscription of Pallava Kampavarman (See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 144).

6 *AREp*, 1926, Nos. 621-23 and *ibid.*, 1964, Nos. 285-86.



The following **palaeographical** features deserve notice. Vowel *e* bears resemblance to the ones found in the records at Karuṅgālakkuḍi and Alagarmalai.<sup>1</sup> Two forms of *t* are found used, one with the arm branching off to the right of a diagonal (slanting) stem and the other with two arms forking from the bottom of a vertical stem. The final *n* used in *Ara-iytan* and *chevitaon*, has been evolved to meet the needs of Dravidian phonology.

The name *Ara-iytaṇ* reminds us of a similar name found mentioned in the Tiruvadavur inscription. Sri Mahadevan read the name in the latter record as *Ar-itan*.<sup>2</sup> The word *Arita*<sup>3</sup> or *Ar-ita* or *Ara-iyta* is, in all probability, the *tadbhava* form of the Sanskrit word *Harita*, which term occurs as the name of *gotra*. The place Erayal is not identifiable with any of the modern place-names in the present state of our knowledge.

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1 See *Corpus of Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 28 and 43 (Alagarmalai record, No. 14), pp. 63-64  
2 and 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 63 and 65

## No. 20—TĀṆḌIVĀḌA GRANT OF VIJAYĀDITYA (II)

(1 Plate)

M. D. Sampath, Mysore

The copper-plate charter edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore is noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1917.<sup>1</sup> This set of plates is stated to have been received from Sri Ramakrishnakavi, Assistant Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The details regarding the findspot and the place where the plates have been preserved are not known.

The set consists of three plates with raised rims each measuring 22 cms. in length and 8 cms. in breadth. The plates are strung on a ring which has a diameter of about 8 cms. and the seal is little over 5 cms. The ends of the ring had been fixed into the bottom of the circular seal. But they are loose and separable. Each of the plates has a ring-hole with a diameter of 1.5 cm. in the centre of the left margin for the ring to pass through. The seal is stated to bear, on the countersink surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanāṅkuśa*, engraved in old Telugu characters followed by a floral design or *āṅkuśa* with the crescent and star above it and an expanded lotus petal decoration below. The ring and seal are, however, not at present available.

The set together with ring and seal is stated to weigh 812 gms.

The first and the third plates are inscribed on their inner surface while the middle one bears writing on both sides. There are in all thirty two lines of writing equally distributed among the four written sides.

The **characters** belong to the Southern class of alphabets usually met with in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas. The writing is well preserved and, on palaeographical grounds, assignable to the first half of the 9th century A.D. The characters can be compared with those of the Varppomngu grant of the same ruler.<sup>2</sup>

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit prose throughout with the exception of four verses towards the end.

As regards **orthography**, it may be pointed out that mistakes are few and far between. The practice of doubling the consonant following the *repha* is uniformly observed throughout excepting once in the word *Arjuna* (line 12).

The charter opens with the auspicious word *Svasti* which is followed by the stereotyped *prāśasti* occurring in the numerous Eastern Chālukyan charters. The genealogical account

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1 *AREp.*, 1916-17, No. A 5.

2 *Ep. Andh.*, Vol. III, pp. 5 ff. and plate.

confines itself to the mention of the grandfather and father of the ruling king and makes no reference to the earlier Chālukya rulers. This omission can also be seen in the Varppomgu grant published elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The record under discussion belongs to the reign of Vijayāditya (II), the donor of the grant, who is introduced as the son of Sarvvalōkāśraya Vhshṇuvarddhana and the grandson of Vijayāditya. A portion of the conventional praise about the donor king of our record nearly follows the description of this king given in the Varppomgu grant.

Vijayāditya I, who is stated to be the grandfather of the donor of our grant, is described as one who had established his rule by defeating through the prowess of his sword all enemy kings, as one who had gifted away gold weighed against his own weight time and again, as one who had blemishless fame as his standard and as the refuge of the entire world. Next is introduced his son Sarvvalōkāśraya Vishnuvarddhana (IV), who is described as an expert in the battle-fields, as one whose feet was worshipped by all kings and as one who is hailed as Manmatha.

His son Vijayāditya (II), the issuer of this charter, is described in glowing but conventional terms. He is compared with the milky ocean and with Yudhishtira, Arjuna, Bhima, Sahadēva and Guha for his many virtues and is described as a king endowed with the three imperial attributes (*śakti-traya*). He is also given the epithets *paramabrahmanya* and *paramamahēśvara*. Whereas his grandfather and father are given the title *mahārāja*, he is endowed with the full array of the imperial titles viz., *mahārājādhirāja*, *paramēśvara* and *bhaṭṭaraka*.

Then the inscription proceeds to record the royal order addressed to all officials and householders residing in Konūrunaṇḍu-vishaya. The details of the grant recorded in the sequel are as follows : The village Tāṇḍivāḍa was granted, free from all taxes, to the two *brāhmaṇas* Vṛiddha-Maṇḍaśarma and Dōṇaśarmma, who were the sons of Dōṇaśarmma and Gōlaśarmma and grandsons of Vṛiddha-Maṇḍaśarmma who belonged to the Āpastamba-sūtra and Gautama-gōtra and who was a resident of Varṅgiparu.<sup>3</sup> The donees are described as engaged in the fulfilment of prescribed brahmanical activities such as learning and teaching, performing sacrifices and causing them to be performed and giving grants, etc. Their bodies always smelt of the smoke and incense of the sacrifices performed by them. The parents of the donees are described in their turn as proficient in *Vēdas*, *Vēdāṅgas*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa* and *Niti-śāstra*. The grant is stated to have been made on the auspicious occasion of a solar-eclipse (*Sūrya-grahaṇa*). No other details of date are given in the record.

The issuer of this charter Vijayāditya (II) is assumed by scholars to have ruled from 808 to 847 A.D. Neither our record nor his two other published records viz., the British Museum

1 *Ep. Andh.*, Vol. III, p. 6, text lines 1-5.

2 This place is referred to as the residence of one of the donees figuring in the British Museum plates of the same king (See, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 416).

Plates and the Varppomngu grant furnish any dates for his reign. In the genealogical portion of most of the records of his successors, he is assigned a reign period of forty years<sup>1</sup> but a few of them state the period to be 41, 44 and even 48 years.<sup>2</sup> These differences in the reign period may have been due to the possibility of his joint rule for some years, first as crown prince under his predecessor and next as the senior ruler after his successor's accession.

After registering the details of the grant proper, the text goes on to enumerate (lines 23-25) the boundaries of the gift village: to the east the river called Kaḷḷeru, to the south the village called Prusaṁbu, to the west a river (name lost) and to the north the village called Majjūḷuṛ. The gift village Tanᎂdivāᎂa and the villages and rivers bordering it are, however, not identifiable on a modern map.

The executor (*ājñapti*) of the grant Niravadyeśavatsala, who is described in verse 4 as an expert in the science of polity and as an accomplished in intellect. This official, obviously, bears a name coined after the epithet of his overlord Vijayāditya, who is described in our record (line 11) as *Niravady-ōᎂdārā-guᎂa-gaᎂ-āḷaṁkṛitaḥ*). This epithet *Niravadya* was originally a favourite of the Vātāpi Chalukya emperor Vijayāditya (696-733 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> and was obviously later adopted by his Eastern Chāḷukya namesake as evidenced by our record.

We know that the Chimbulūru grant<sup>4</sup> of Eastern Chāḷukya Vijayāditya II was composed by one Bhaṭṭa Niravadya, a few years after the issual of the grant under study. In the present state of our knowledge, however, it is not possible to identify with certainty Niravadyeśavatsala of our record with Bhaṭṭa Niravadya of the Chimbulūru record.

The present charter was written (engraved) by Aksharalalitachārya who is also known from the British Museum Plates of the same king in the same capacity. We learn from the latter record that he was resident of Vijayavāᎂa. Besides these two charters, he also engraved the Chimbulūru grant of Vijayāditya III referred to above, wherein his name occurs as Aksharalalita and he is described as a resident of Vijayavāᎂa. This Vijayavāᎂa is the same as the well known town of that name in the Krishna District.

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1 Above, Vol. v, p. 128, *Ep. Andh.*, Vol. III, p. 40.

2 *A.R.Ep.*, 1908-09, No. A 3; *SII.*, Vol. I, pp. 44, 54; Above Vol. V, p. 136.

3 *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, part II, para. 23.

4 *Ep. Andh.*, vol. III, p. 15 and plate.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>*First Plate*

- 1 Svasti [!\*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sa-gōtrānām Hārīti-  
pu-
- 2 trāṇām Kauśiki-varaprasāda-labdha-rājyānām mātṛi-gaṇa-paripālitanām Svāmi-  
Ma-
- 3 hāsēna-pād-ānudyātānām bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsa(sā)dita-vara-  
varāha-lāñchhan-ē-
- 4 kṣhaṇa-kṣhaṇa-vaśīkrit-ārāti-maṇḍalanām Aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrikṛi-  
ta-vapushām Chalukyanām kulam=alamkarishṇōh sv-āsi-dhārā prabhāv-āvarjit-  
āśē-
- 6 sha-rājanya-mastak-ākṛānta-tivr-aika-śāsansay=anēka-tulā-dhṛita-śrā(śā)takumbha-  
viśrāṇan-āva-
- 7 dāta-śārīra-sampadō niravadya-ōdāra kirtti-dhvajasya samasta-bhuvanāśraya-śrī  
Vijayā-
- 8 ditya-mahārājasya pautrah tat-sūnur<sup>2</sup>-ati-tumula-ghōra-mah-āhava-rarṅga-paṭutara-  
nai-

*Second Plate : First Side*

- 9 puṇyaḥ sakala-mahipala-vandita-charaṇ-aravinda-yugalō makara-dhvaj-  
ābhidhānaka[h] Sarvvalō-
- 10 kāsraya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-maharājasya priya-tanayaḥ samsta-sāmanta-mauli-  
māl-ālamkṛita-cha-
- 11 raṇa-yugalō nirvady-ōdāra-guṇa-gaṇ-ālamkṛita-śārīrah kṣhīr-ārṇṇava yi(i)va  
Lakshmi-prasūtir-=dharmma-
- 12 ja yi(i)va satya-sandhah Arjuna yi(i)va nirmmal-ōpētaḥ Bhīmasēna yi(i)va  
Bhīmalādya(dhya)h Sa-
- 13 hadēva yi(i)va Sahadevamūrttiḥ Guha yi(i)v=āpratihata-śaktiḥ śaktitraya-sam-  
pannah pa-
- 14 rama-brahmanyah parama-mahēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānu<sup>3</sup>dhyātaḥ samasta-  
bhuvanāśraya-śrī-Vi-
- 15 jayāditya-mahārājadhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakah Kōṇūrunāṇḍu-vishaya-  
nivāsīnō rā-

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1 From ink impressions.

2 The words *tat-sūnur-* are redundant.

3 A letter *j* seems to have been written below °*nu-*

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32 32

- 16 shṭrakūṭa-pramukhān=kuṭumbinas=sarvvān-ittham=ājñāpayati viditm=astu  
vō='smābhiḥ Varṅgi[pa]-

*Second Plate : Second Side*

- 17 ru-va(vā)stavyasya Gautama-gōtrasy=Āpastambha(ba)-sūtrasy=ātiśaya-  
dhammānushṭhāna-para-  
18 sya shaṭ-karma-niratasya Vṛiddha-Maṇḍasarmmaṇa[h\*] putrābhyam(bhyam)  
tat-putrayōr-v Vēda-Vēdān<sup>1</sup>g-Ētiḥāsa-Pu-  
19 rāṇa-niti-śāstr-ārtha-nipuṇayōḥ Dōṇasarmma-Gōḷasarmmaṇōḥ putrābhyām  
adhyayan-ādhyā-  
20 pana-yajana-yājana-dān-ādi kriy-ānushṭhāna-tatparābhyām anavarata-makh-āgni-  
dhūma-  
21 sa(sam)cha[ya]-gandh-ādhivāsita-śarira-nirmmalābhyām Vṛiddha-Maṇḍa-  
Dōṇasarmmabhyām-āyu-  
22 r-ārōgy-ābhivṛiddhaye Sūryya-grahāṇa-nimitē(ttam) sarvva-kara-parihārēṇ-ōdaka-  
23 pūrvvām kṛitvā Tāṇḍiva(vā)ḍa-nāma-grāmō dattaḥ asy=āvadhayaḥ pūrvvata[h\*]  
Kaḷḷeru-  
24 nāmanadi dakṣiṇataḥ Prusambu<sup>2</sup>-nāma-grāmāḥ paśchimataḥ [Pa]...

*Third Plate*

- 25 ni-nāmanadi uta(tta)rataḥ Majjūḷurunāma-grāmāḥ ētēshām madhyavati [ 1\*]  
26 Asy=ōpari na-kēnachidbhā(d-bā)dhākaraṇiṇi [ 1\*] karōti yas=sapañcha-mahāpātaka-  
samyu-  
27 kṭō bhavati [ 1\*] bhagavatā Vyāsēn=āpy=uktam [ 1\*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā datta  
bahubhiś=ch=ānupālita [ 1\*] ya-  
28 sya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā pa(pha)lam(lam) [ 1\*] Svadattām  
paradattām vā yō ha-  
29 rēta vasundharām [ 1\*] shashṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhā(shṭā)yām jāyatē krimiḥ  
[ 2\*] Sarvvān=ē-  
30 va bhāvināḥ pārtthivēndrā[n\*] bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmadēvaḥ [ 1\*]  
Sāmānyo='yan-dharmma-sētu-  
31 r=nripāṇām kalē kalē pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ [ 3\*] Ājñaptir=asya dharmmasya niti-  
śāstra-viśārada[h\*] | buddhi-sa-  
32 mp[ū]rṇa-samyuktō Nirvadyēśa-vatsalaḥ [ 4\*] Aksharalalit-āchāryēṇ-ālikhitam  
[ 1\* ]

1 The anusvāra is written over the next letter gē.

2 The anusvāra is placed over the letter °bu-.



## No. 21—HĀTHUNḌĪ INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHĀRĀJAKULA SĀMAṆTASIMHADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1345

(1 Plate)

Ram Sharma, Mysore

The inscription<sup>1</sup> edited below was first noticed in *P.R.A.S.W.C.*<sup>2</sup> by D.R. Bhandarkar who later on included it in his list.<sup>3</sup> The inscription was transcribed by Puran Chand Nahar<sup>4</sup> as well as by Muni Jinavijaya.<sup>5</sup> It is edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

The record is engraved on a pillar in the porch of the Jaina temple at village Hāthunḍi in the Jodhpur District of Rajasthan. The inscription occupies a space measuring 14 cm × 49 cm. It contains 21 lines of writing and each line consists of about 9 letters. The size of the letters varies from about 1 cm to 3 cm. The **characters** are Nāgarī and regular for the period to which the inscription belongs. Medial *ē* is expressed in two ways, either by a *śirōmātrā* as in *rājyē* (line 7) or by a *prishṭhamātrā*, as in *karaṇē* (line 8). Of special interest are the forms of *ch*, *dh* and *bh*, cf. the late and early forms of *ch* in *Chatuvimsi* and *cha* (line 15), *dha* in *sādhu* (line 11-12) and *Vasudhā* (line 17) and *bha* in *Bhādrava* (line 3) and *subham bhavatū* (line 16) where it looks like dental *sa*. The letter *k* written as conjunct in *Śukra* (lines 3-4) and with medial *u* sign in *kula* (line 6) has lost the loop. Amongst other conjuncts the forms of *sya* in *tasya* (line 19) and *tta* in *pradattāḥ* (line 16) looking like *śa* are interesting. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, which is not free from mistakes. The influence of local dialect is discernible at some places like *Bhādrava* (line 3) for *Bhādrapada*. The use of the letters *j* for *y* in *jasya* (line 18) and *jadā* (line 19) and *p* for *bh* in *pūmi* (line 19) are interesting **orthographical** features.

The date of the inscription is Vikrama 1345, first *Bhādrapada* *ba.* 9, Friday which corresponds to 1288 A.D., July 23 according to the northern Vikrama era, i.e. *Chaitrādi Purnimānta*.

The inscription commences with a symbol for *Siddham* which is followed by a passage paying obeisance to Vitarāga (i.e., Jina). This is followed by the details of date discussed above. It is then stated that śrī-Sāmyasiṅgha (Sāmarntasiṅgha)dēva styled as *Mahārājakula* was ruling over Nāḍūla-maṇḍala on that date. The *pañchakula* consisting of *Maham Lalata* and others appointed by the king under the *Śrīkaraṇa* i.e., Chief Secretariat<sup>6</sup> or Advisory Committee are mentioned next as registering the gift. The **object** of the inscription is to

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1 This is *A.R.Ep.*, 1961-62, No. C 1727.

2 *P.R.A.S.W.C.*, 1907-08, p. 52.

3 Bhandarkar's List, No. 621.

4 *Jaina Inscriptions*, pt. I, p. 233, No. 897.

5 cf. *Prāchīna Jaina Lekha Samgraha*, pt. II, No. 320.

6 cf. A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 212; D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 318.

record the annual grant of twenty four *drammas* denominated as *Vaśika-drammas* for the service of Mahāvira, obviously the Jaina *Tirthankara* in the village Hāthi-udī by *sādhu* (i.e., a Jaina devotee) Hēmāka in the Maṇḍapikā (i.e., a little pavilion)<sup>1</sup> erected below the Śamī tree. Since the Śamī tree is supposed to contain sacred fire the obvious indication is that the grant was made with the sacred fire of the tree as witness. The usual sense of *maṇḍapikā* as a customs house<sup>1</sup> does not appear to be applicable in the present case. The grant portion is followed by the auspicious expression *śubham bhavatu* and the customary benedictory verse *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*, etc. The inscription ends with the statement that it was written by [Thā.]Kapūra-Vijaya.

Several types of *drammas* have been mentioned in numerous other inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> but not *Vaśika-dramma*. We have no means of knowing its exact value. A.K. Majumdar<sup>3</sup> surmises that this *dramma* was a silver coin. P.C. Nahar appears to suggest it to be a record of land grant,<sup>4</sup> which does not appear to be correct.

The king *Mahārājakula Sāmāntasīmhadēva* has been identified with the ruler of this name who flourished in the Sōngirā branch of the Chāhamāna dynasty of Jālōr<sup>5</sup> (Marwar). In the present inscription he has been described as ruling over Nādūla-maṇḍala, which makes it clear that Nādōl which has passed into the hands of Sōngirā Chāhamānas during the time of Udayasīmha<sup>6</sup> was still under their sway. Further it is known that Sāmāntasīmha was the son and successor of Chāchigadēva on the Jālōr throne. C.L. Suri,<sup>7</sup> however, considers Sāḍhadēva as the son and immediate successor of Chāchigadēva and presumes a struggle between Sāḍhadēva and Sāmāntasīmha for the Jālōr throne resulting in the success of the latter. Suri's contention lies mainly on the find of an inscription of Chāchigadēva at Sanpur which is near Nūn where we have got the inscription of *Mahārājakula Rāūta Sāḍhadēva* who under the circumstances has been taken as belonging to the Jālōr or Sōngirā branch of the Chāhamānas. Now, it is, however, not known as to why the Sirōhi branch of the Sōngirā Chāhamānas has been overlooked by Suri. In that branch Pratāpasīmha<sup>8</sup> appears to have flourished as a contemporary and cousin of Chāchigadēva and it is quite likely that Sāḍhadēva was Pratāpasīmha's son and successor and not of Chāchigadēva.

Two **geographical** names occur in this inscription. Nādūla-maṇḍala referred to in lines 4-5 is the region around modern Nādōl. The village Hāthi-udī (lines 12-13) obviously refers to modern Hāthunḍi, the findspot of the inscription.

1 cf. A.K. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 and 246.

2 cf. *Ibid.*, p. 100. Also see D. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-04.

3 cf. *op. cit.*, p. 272.

4 cf. P.C. Nahar, *op. cit.*, where he reads *prachchhati bhūmi*.

5 cf. D. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

6 cf. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

7 Above, Vol. XXXVII, p. 306.

8 cf. L.B. Desai, *Chauhāna Kula Kalpadruma*, p. 165.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> || òm namò Vitarāgā-
- 2 ya || Samvat 1345 varshē ||<sup>3</sup>
- 3 prathama-Bhādrava<sup>4</sup> vadi 9 Śu-||<sup>3</sup>
- 4 kra-dinē=dy=eha śrī-Nā-||<sup>3</sup>
- 5 dūla-marṇḍalē Mahārāja ||<sup>3</sup>
- 6 kula-śrī-Sāmyamgha<sup>5</sup>-||<sup>3</sup>
- 7 dēva-rājyēt=tanyukta<sup>6</sup> śrī-||<sup>3</sup>
- 8 Śrīkaraṇē Maham Lalatā<sup>7</sup>-
- 9 di Pamchaku[la\*] pra[ya\*]chchhati<sup>8</sup> aksha-
- 10 rāṇi yathā Śamī-tala<sup>9</sup>
- 11 padē=dya<sup>10</sup> Marṇḍapikāyām sā-
- 12 dhu Hēmākēna Hāthi-u-
- 13 di-grāmē śrī-Mahāvīradē-
- 14 va-nē(sē)vārtham varsham prati Vaśi-
- 15 kandra 24 chatuvimsi<sup>11</sup> cha<sup>12</sup> dramā<sup>13</sup>
- 16 pradattāḥ<sup>14</sup> [||\*] su(śu)bham bhavatū(tu)||
- 17 Bahubhir=vasudha bhuktā rā-

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1 From ink-impressions.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 This punctuation mark is redundant.

4 Read *Bhādrapada*.

5 *JV* (*Jinavijaya*) reads as *Sāmvartasimya(ha)*.

6 *JV* reads as *stra-niyukta*. Read *Tan=niyukta*.

7 *JV* and *PC* (*Puran Chand Nahar*) read as *Lalanā*.

8 *PC* reads as *prachchhati bhūmi*.

9 The letter *la* looks like *bha*.

10 *JV* and *PC* respectively read as *padētya* and *paditya* which make no sense.

11 Read *chaturvimsati*.

12 This form of *cha* is different from that of *cha* in *chatu* in the same line.

13 Read *drammāḥ*.

14 The *visarga* was added after the text was engraved as a result one dot was engraved above the line.

HĀTHUNDĪ INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF  
SĀMANTASIMHADEVĀ, VIKRAMA 1345

	जन्मनलोवीतरका	
2	सोमं वन १३४ जन्म	2
	इन्द्रावसावद्वारावद्वारा	
4	नितान्तं सदाश्रीनि	4
	नितान्तं सदाश्रीनि	
6	कुलश्रीमाश्रीतर्षि	6
	कुलश्रीमाश्रीतर्षि	
8	व्रीहिराजिनिहसजना	8
	व्रीहिराजिनिहसजना	
10	संलिध्वनितान्ति	10
	संलिध्वनितान्ति	
12	संलिध्वनितान्ति	12
	संलिध्वनितान्ति	
14	वज्रवर्षिनिहसजना	14
	वज्रवर्षिनिहसजना	
16	प्रदत्तं सुसंस्तवता	16
	प्रदत्तं सुसंस्तवता	
18	संलिध्वनितान्ति	18
	संलिध्वनितान्ति	
20	वज्रवर्षिनिहसजना	20
	वज्रवर्षिनिहसजना	



- 18 jā(ja)bhi[h\*] Sagarādivi(bhiḥ) lja(ya) ||<sup>1</sup>-  
19 sya<sup>2</sup>ja(ya)dā pū(bhū)mī(miḥ) tasya<sup>2</sup>  
20 tadā phalaṁ(lam)||  
21 [Ṭhā.] Kapūra<sup>3</sup> Vijaya lishaturn<sup>4</sup>[||\*]

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1 This punctuation mark is redundant.

2 The numerical figure 2 here indicates that the previous word is to be repeated.

3 *JV* reads the name as Kē(*Kṛi?*)*shṇa*.

4 Read *Karpūra-Vijayēna likhitam*.

## No. 22—OBSERVATIONS ON A SEAL-DIE BEARING INCOMPLETE LEGEND

(1 Plate)

Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, Lucknow

The seal-die under discussion is in the collection of the National Museum, New Delhi. The accompanying photographs were kindly supplied by late Sri C. Sivaramamurti, the then Director of the Museum.

The seal shows, in the upper field, the device of Gajalakshmi Lakshmi, being anointed by two elephants one on either side. Below the device is a two-line legend with sunken letters in reverse, in the **characters** of *circa* fourth or fifth century A.D. The **legend** is incomplete, a few letters, both in the beginning and in the end of both the lines, being out of flan. The extant legend reads :

1. ... śvapati-mahādandanāyaka
2. ... grihita kumaramā ...

Fortunately, the legend can be restored with the help of certain sealings bearing identical device and legend unearthed at Bhita, Allahabad District, in the course of excavations conducted by Sir John Marshall and published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for the year 1911-12.<sup>1</sup> There are ten such sealings reported from that site, of which only one, the most well preserved, has been illustrated.<sup>2</sup> This sealing has the complete legend :

1. Mahāśvapati-mahādandanāyaka-Vishnura-
2. kshita-pād-anugrihita kumārāmātya-ādhikaranasya

'[Seal] of the office (*adhikarāṇa*) of *kumārāmātya* attached to the *mahāśvapati* (the great lord of cavalry) and *mahādandanāyaka* (great general)." One such sealing, though not so well preserved, was noticed by us in the collection of late Sri Ramachandra Tandon of Allahabad.

The evidence gleaned from other epigraphs shows that a *kumārāmātya* could be attached to the king<sup>3</sup> and could also be appointed as heads variously of a province,<sup>4</sup> district<sup>5</sup> or a city.<sup>6</sup> But, the evidence of the Bhita sealings shows that this official could at times be attached to some senior officer,<sup>7</sup> in this case one who was designated as

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1 ASIAR, 1911-12, pp 52-53

2 *Ibid*, under No 32 and illustrated on plate XVIII, No. 32

3 See the evidence of Basarh sealings, *Ibid*, 1903-04, p 108, No 8

4 See *MAI*, 66, p 51

5 *Vide*, Dāmodarpur copper-plates, Above Vol XV, 130 ff; Bagram copper-plate, Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 81-82.

6 *Vide*, seal-legend *Tira kumārāmātya-ādhikaranasya*, on a Basarh sealing, *ARASI*, 1903-04, p. 109, No. 22.

7 Of course there is evidence to show that *kumārāmātya* was at times attached to *yuvārāja*, *vide* the evidence of a Basarh sealing bearing the legend *yuvārāja-pādīya kumārāmātya-ādhikaranasya*, *ARASI*, 1903-04, p. 107.

OBSERVATIONS ON A SEAL-DIE BEARING INCOMPLETE LEGEND

—SEAL - DIE



*K. V. Ramesh*

From Photograph

*Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII*



PLASTOCENE IMPRESSION OF THE SEAL - DIE



*K. V. Ramesh*

*Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII*

*mahaśvapati-mahādaṇḍanāyaka*. *Mahādaṇḍanayaka* can and has been translated variously as 'general',<sup>1</sup> or 'police officer',<sup>2</sup> or 'judge'.<sup>3</sup> But there is a possibility that the title often characterised a feudal lord.<sup>4</sup>

Sealings bearing incomplete legend and device are not uncommon. The most common reason for this feature is that the die used for stamping was larger than the clay lump on which the stamp was impressed and thus a part of the legend or/and device remained out of flan. In a few cases it might be due to the improper handling of the die in which case part of the lump of the moist clay might remain unstamped while part of the device and/or legend would be out of flan.

But the die itself bearing an incomplete legend, as is the case with the one under discussion, is curious. The following explanation may be offered for this feature.

It seems that the seal-die of the office of *kumāramātya* got broken. There was a pressing need for sealing the documents and hence a new seal-die had to be prepared within a short period. Manufacture of a seal-die entails inscribing the device and letters of the legend in reverse form, demanding both technical skill and time. Hence, as a short-cut stop-gap arrangement, a seal-impression, made from earlier die, was pressed against a wet lump of clay to produce sunken letters and device in reverse form to serve as a seal-die. Incidentally, the seal-impression which was used for making the seal-die was as such did not bear the complete legend, part of it being out of flan. Naturally, therefore, the seal-die under discussion is characterised by the peculiar feature of not showing the complete legend.

The seal-die under discussion is sun-baked and not kiln-baked, and this feature also lends support to the view that it was made in a hurry to meet some urgent need. Impressions from it would have been made by gently pressing it against the moist clay lump, and not by striking, as, in the later case, unbaked as the die was, it would have got broken.

While the seal-impressions of ancient period have been found in large numbers, seal-dies for the same (with the exception of those of the Indus Civilization) are few and far-between, and hence, the find of a seal-die of the historical period becomes more significant than that of a sealing of the same period. Further, the findspot of a seal-die is a far more reliable guide to determine the place of its origin than that of a sealing. While the sealings, applied as they are to letters and parcels despatched to different places, are generally found at places far off from the place of their origin, seal-dies, meant as they are for sealing the documents by the owner of the seal, would

1 Raychaudhuri, *PHAL*, (6th ed.), p. 563, *CII*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 16, f.n.; A. S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 343; D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 364.

2 Stein, *Rāja Tarangini I*, Taranga VII, V. 951; Marshall, *ARASI*, 1911-12, p. 54; Bhandarkar, *Ibid.*, 1914-15, p. 82.

3 Boch, *ARASI*, 1903-04, p. 109; Mookerji, *Ancient India*, p. 331; Banerji, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 77.

4 D. R. Bhandarkar, after citing epigraphic references concludes '... like 'Duke', 'Earl' and 'Viscount' *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* was a hereditary title of 'nobility' (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 95).

generally be found at the place from where letters and parcels bearing their stamp were issued.

Since the seal-die discussed here has been found at Kauśāmbi, it is reasonable to presume that the office of the *kumārāmātya* attached to the *Mahāśvapati* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Vishnurakshita was located in that city. Further, we may, with good deal of justification, infer that the sealings unearthed at Bhita, referred to above, must have been applied to the letters and/or parcels despatched from Kauśāmbi. In all probability Kauśāmbi was a provincial headquarters of the Imperial Guptas, and Vishnurakshita, who has been designated as a *mahāśvapati* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, was the governor of Vatsa region, with a *kumārāmātya* attached to him. Bhita, the findspot of the sealings, was a thriving town within this province, probably a *tehsil* headquarters, in the Gupta period. The Bhita sealings, referred to above, would have been those affixed to the official correspondence of the *kumārāmātya* stationed at Kauśāmbi to a government official serving at Bhita.

## No. 23—TWO COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS FROM NELLORE DISTRICT

(4 Plates)

S.S. Ramachandramurthy and S. Nagarjuna, Mysore

The two copper-plate charters, edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, were sent by the then Collector of Nellore in 1918-19 to the then Government Epigraphist for India. However, the actual findspot of these grants is not known. They are referred to here as A<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup> for the sake of convenience.

### A. Copper-plate charter dated Saka 1225.

This is a set of 3 copper-plates oblong in shape with low rims preserved in only two of the plates and strung together on a copper ring which bears a tiny image of the seated bull fixed on to it like a seal. The plates are written on both sides and they are numbered. They measure about 18 cms in length and 9 cms in breadth. The ring measures about 7 cms in diameter. The bull on it is about 1.3 cms in length and height in the seated posture. The total set weighs about 1217 gms. The writing is well preserved.

The copper-plate grant is engraved in Telugu characters and language of the 14th century to which the charter belongs. The **palaeography** does not call for any special remarks except that in one instance the *dirgha* sign for medial *ā* is indicated by a vertical stroke on the top of the concerned letter as in *guṛālu* (line 28). The size of the letters is not uniform. The letters in the first line of the first side of the first plate are smaller when compared to the remaining lines on that side of the plate. Again, the letters on the 2nd side of the first plate, both sides of the second plate and the first side of the third plate are fairly big in size while the letters on the second side of the last plate are comparatively smaller.

As regards **orthography** the following features deserve mention. The record consists of many spelling mistakes. In some instances *anusvāra* is used where it is not necessary. (eg. *labdhānnēka* for *labdhānēka*, line 1), which is, however, a common feature of the period. Similarly in many instances *dirgha* was used where *hrasva* should be and *vice versa* (eg. *vira-bal-ōtsahā* for *vira-bal-ōtsāha*, line 3; *kirty-aṁganalīṁgita* for *kirty-aṁgan-āliṁgita*, line 5). In some instances *ri* is used for *ṛi* (eg. *alamkṛita* for *alamkṛita*, line 2; *vṛishabha* for *vṛishabha* line 14); *s* for *ś* (*saucha* for *śaucha*, line 2; *visuddha* for *viśuddha*, line 4; *Kārtika su* for *Kārtika śu*, line 25); *ś* for *sh* (*bhūśitarum* for *bhūshitarum*, lines 11-12; *dōsāna* for *doshana*, lines 40, 41); *l* for *l* (*staḷa* for *sthala*, lines 16-17; *kapāḷa* for *kapālā*, lines 41); in some cases aspirate is not used where it should be (*staḷa* for *sthala*) lines 6-7; *Ahiśchatra* for *Ahichchhatra*, line 9; *lāṁchenalyana* for *lāṁchchhanulaina*, line 15); in some instances aspirate is used where it should not be, as in *Śakha* for *Śaka* (line 24); in some cases the consonant following *rēpha*

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1 AREp., 1918-19, No. A 10.

2 Ibid., No. A 11

is doubled (*dharmma*, line 3; *sarvva-mānyamu*, line 37); in one instance the *consonant* following *anusvāra* is doubled as in *parittamu* (line 22). Further, it may be noted that the titles of the members of the guild are in Kannaḍa language, the reason being that this guild had been formed in the beginning at Ayyavole which is identical with modern Aihole in Bijapur District, Karnataka.

This grant is dated Śaka 1225, Krōdhi, Kārttika śu. 10, Thursday. If the Śaka year quoted is wrong for 1226, the details regularly correspond to 1304 A.D., October 8, f.d.t. 30.

The **object** of the charter is to record the grant of privileges for trading in certain articles without paying duty, to a certain Puliyama-seṭṭi, who, on the orders of the guild, killed Karapakala Kaṭināyaka who had turned a traitor to the guild.

The record opens with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by some of the usual epithets of the guild.<sup>1</sup> Then the charter proceeds to state that the *samasta-pekkandru*<sup>2</sup> of the 18 *samayas* belonging to the four countries and of Nandyāla-sthalamu assembled in the *mukha-mandapa* of the temple of Gavareśvaradeva, set up the *vajra-bhaishaniga* and granted certain privileges to Puliyama-seṭṭi for having killed Karapakala Kaṭināyaka who had become a traitor to all the *samayas*. This is followed by the date, the details of which have been discussed above. Then follows a list of articles while trading in which Puliyama-seṭṭi was given exemption from paying duty while buying or selling them (*amminavānki konnavānki sarvamanyam*). It is further stated that whenever he visits any country the rulers as well as the members of the guild (*pekkandru*) of those countries should allow Puliyama-seṭṭi to enjoy this privilege. This is followed by an imprecatory passage in Telugu which says that those who do not honour this grant will incur the sin of killing a thousand tawny cows on the bank of the Gaṅga. They would also incur the sin of preparing collyrium in the skull of their eldest son.

The importance of this charter, as also of charter *B*, discussed below, lies in the fact that they throw welcome light on the sweeping powers enjoyed by the merchant guilds.

The merchant guilds of the *Nanādēśis* and the *Virabalanjas* are early institutions spread all over South India and Maharashtra. The epithets endowed to them are high sounding and stand to test. A record from Baḷligami in Karnataka, dated Śaka 978 (1056 A.D.) gives a long eulogy of these guilds.<sup>3</sup> Another inscription from Kurugōdu, in Karnataka itself, also gives a string of epithets of these guilds.<sup>4</sup> This is dated Śaka 1099 (1177 A.D.). They are described as stationed at Ayyavole and hailing from Ahichchhatra (*Śrīmad-Ayyāvōleya Ahichchhatra-vinirggataru*). The Kurugōdu epigraph cited above refers to them as *śrīmad-Āryā-nāma-pura-mukhya-bhūtar-enip-aynurvvaru*.<sup>5</sup> The Āryapura mentioned here is but the Sanskritized form of the place name Ayyavole. The present charter further describes them as *samaya-dharma-prati-pālakaru* which suggests that they were keen on maintaining the *dharma*

1 For the significance of some of these titles see below, pp. 22-23

2 The term *samasta-pekkandru* literally means 'all the several (members)' and in its technical sense refers to any technical guild of medieval Andhra Pradesh. In medieval Karnataka, the exact Kannaḍa translation of this term, carrying the same sense, occurs as *samasta-halaru* in a number of inscriptions.

3 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 118.

4 *SII.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 297.

5 *Ibid.*, text, line 33

of their *samaya*. That they were offering very severe punishment, sometimes even capital punishment, to those who violated the *samaya-dharma* is proved by the charters under study. They were very valorous as evidenced by epithets like *anuna-sahasottunga*, *kirty-amgan-ālimgita-nija-bhuja-vijaya-virochita-vira-lakshmi-nivasa-vaksha-sthala*, *tribhuvana-parākram-ōnnataru*. It is interesting to note that they were taking part in battles. A hero-stone inscription from Hirelingadahalli, Dharwar District, Karnataka, dated in the 10th regnal year of Yādava Rāmachandra (1280 A.D.), records that a servant of the Eighteen *Samayas* died fighting while capturing the fort of Tiluvalli in the presence of the great assembly (*Prithvinādu*) of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa-nādu.<sup>1</sup>

The titles *Chālukyānvayaru* and *Chōlakulantakaru* attest to their active participation in the political affairs of the country to the advantage of the Karnataka rulers. They were further described as *mahisha-gārdabha-vrishabha-vahanaru* which suggests that they used to carry their merchandise on these animals. They were stated to be the worshippers of the lotus feet of the deity Gavaṛeśvaradēva as evidenced by many other inscriptions. In some places the members of these guilds constructed temples to this deity and made grants for their maintenance.<sup>2</sup> The fact that these guilds were very widely spread all over South India, Gujarat and Maharashtra is proved by the provenance of the inscriptions of these guilds. The Kurugōḍu inscription, mentioned above, refers to *Laḍa(ṭa)-Chola-Malayala-Telumga-Kannāḍa-samasta-nānādēśigalu*.<sup>3</sup> In Tamil epigraphs these guilds are referred to as *Valaṅgiyar* and *Nānādēśit-tiśai-āyiratt-aiṇṇūṟruvar*.<sup>4</sup> An inscription from Bhalavaṇi in Khanapur taluk, Sangli District, Maharashtra mentions the *Nanadeśis*.<sup>5</sup> It is further interesting to note that these guilds were spread over Burma and its neighbouring countries also.<sup>6</sup> The fact that these guilds were very active, widespread and were functioning till the 18th century is evidenced by a copper-plate grant from Kolar, Karnataka, dated Śaka 1620 (1698 A.D.), which furnishes a long list of 54 villages spread over Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu as falling under their jurisdiction.<sup>7</sup>

Evidently these merchant guilds enjoyed sweeping powers to the extent that they could award even capital punishment to the culprit without the fear of interference from the throne. To try the cases, as can be observed from the inscriptions, the members of the guild used to assemble in the *mukha-mandapa* of an important temple. It appears that before the trial commences they were setting up the *vajra-bhaishaniga*. There are different opinions regarding the meaning of *vajra-bhaishaniga*. Somesekharasarma took it to mean a large cupped spoon.<sup>8</sup> He draws this information from Edgar Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*.<sup>9</sup> P.B. Desai, who also quotes the opinions of Rice, R. Rama Rao and B.A. Saletore in

1 *AREp.*, 1932-33, No. BK 107.

2 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 118; *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 297, etc.

3 *op. cit.*, text, line 47.

4 *AREp.*, 1955-56, No. B 264.

5 *Ibid.*, 1972-73, No. B 38.

6 Above, Vol. VII, pp. 197 ff.

7 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XVII, No. 257.

8 *History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, p. 401 and n 32, *Bharati*, Vol. 24, pt. 2, pp. 63 ff.

9 *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. II, pp. 121-23.

his paper "Vajra-baisanige: Derivation and Interpretation",<sup>1</sup> suggests that *vajra-baisanige* (Kannāḍa form of Telugu *vajra-bhaishaniga*) is a sitting posture (same as *vajr-āsana*) and that the members of the business community were sitting in this posture while transacting important business as the fundamental rite of *vajrāsana* at once invested their meetings with solemnity and religious sanction. Now, let us examine the information provided by Thurston. In his work it is stated that a large cupshaped spoon is the ensign of *Dēsāyi* (a sub-division of *balija*, same as *vira-balañja* of the epigraphs in question). This is described as follows: "On the outer surface, all round its edge, are carved in relief eighteen figures, each one being typical of one of the castes of which the *Dēsāyi* is the social head. Under each figure is inscribed in Tamil the name of the caste which that figure typifies. The figures are smeared with red powder and sandal, and decorated with flowers. The menial, taking up the cup, rings the bell attached to it, to summon the parties. As soon as the sound is heard, the castemen, among whom any offence has occurred, assemble, each house in the village being represented by a member, so as to make up a *panchayat* (council). The *Dēsāyi*'s emblem is then placed in front of him in the midst of the *panchayat*, and a regular enquiry held"<sup>2</sup>. Though Thurston gives a long description of this emblem, unfortunately he has not given other details such as the name of the emblem and the material out of which it is made, etc. Nevertheless we may safely presume that *vajra-bhaishaniga* mentioned in the epigraphs of the merchant guilds is the same as the emblem described above. In this connection we may note the expression *ghaṁṭa-vrēsi* ('having rung the bell') occurring in charter *B* in the context of setting up the *vajra-bhaishaniga* and ordering the execution of the culprit by the guild. In the light of the above discussion the suggestion of P.B. Desai that "*vajra-baisanige* of Kannāḍa records was nothing but *vajrāsana* which constituted a peculiar sitting posture..." is untenable.

Of the **geographical** names occurring in the grant Ayyavole is already discussed above. Nandyāla, the head-quarters of Nandyāla-sthalamu is identical with modern Nandyāla in Nandyal Taluk, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

#### *First Plate : First Side*

- 1 Siddham [||\*]<sup>4</sup> Svasti [||\*] Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyata-paṁchaśata-vira-śāsana-labdham(dh-ā)nēka-guṇa-gaṇa-
- 2 laṁkri(kṛi)ta satya-sau(śau)chā-charu<sup>5</sup>-charitra-naya-vinaya-vipula-vijñāna-
- 3 vira-baliḥjiga vira-bal-otsa(tsā)hā(ha) samaya-dharmma-pra
- 4 tipa(pā)laka visu(śu)ddha-garuḍa-dhvaja-rājamān-āgmū(nū)-

1 *Śrikanthikā* (Dr. S. Srikantha Sastri Felicitation volume), pp. 89 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 122. A photograph of this emblem is also given facing p. 123.

3 From estampages.

4 Indicated by symbol.

5 Read *satya-śauch-āchāra*.

## — PLATE I

1  
 2  
 3  
 4  
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 6

8  
 10  
 12

8  
 10  
 12



ii a

14 మహాశక్తిగ్రామమునందున్నది నర  
 16 యగ్రామమునందున్నది మరుగవత్తవత్తవత్త  
 18 యగ్రామమునందున్నది మరుగవత్తవత్తవత్త  
 20 యగ్రామమునందున్నది మరుగవత్తవత్తవత్త

ii b

22 నమమయ్యమయ్యమయ్యమయ్యమయ్యమయ్య  
 24 నమమయ్యమయ్యమయ్యమయ్యమయ్యమయ్య  
 26 నమమయ్యమయ్యమయ్యమయ్యమయ్యమయ్య

- 5 na-sāhasōtturṅga kīrty-aṅgana(n-ā)lirṅgita-nija-bhu-  
 6 ja-vijaya-vrikōchita<sup>1</sup> vira-lakshmi-nivāsa-vaksha-sta(stha)-  
 7 la stri(tri)bhuvana-parākram-ōrṇataruṁ śrī-

*First Plate : Second Side<sup>2</sup>*

- 8 Baladēva-Vasudēva-Khaṇḍḍali-Mulabhadra-varṣ-ōdbha-  
 9 varuṁ śrīmadye(d-A)yyāvoḷa(ḷe)ya-Ahiścha(chchha)tra-  
 10 vina(ni)rggataruṁ Chālukya(ky-ā)nvayarūṁ Chō-  
 11 ḷa-kul-āmtakarūṁ chēḷa(l-ā)bharāṇa-bhūśi(shi)-  
 12 tarūṁ baluṁkke-daṇḍa-ha(ha)starūṁ tamolakke abha-  
 13 ya-hastaruṁ kava(na)ka-karṇcha(chu)lukkeyaṁ Kāma-dēvaru[m]

*Second Plate : First Side*

- 14 mahiśa(sha)-gārdḍabha-vri(vri)shabha-vāhanaruṁ śrī-Nārā-  
 15 yaṇa-chakra-lāṁchenalyana<sup>3</sup> śrīmatu Gavaṛṣva(śva)radēva-di-  
 16 vya-śrī-pāda-padma(m-ā)rādhakulaina śrīmatu Nāṁdyāla-sta(stha)-  
 17 ḷamu chālū(lu)mūla-sahitamaina akhila-nā-  
 18 lgu dēśāla va(pa)dunenmidi-samayāla samastamaina pe-  
 19 kkaṇḍrūṁ śrī-Gana(va)ṛṣva(śva)ra-dēvara guḍi mukhaṁ  
 20 maṇṭapamunamdu<sup>4</sup> vajra-bhaishaniga vetṭi

*Second Plate : Second Side<sup>5</sup>*

- 21 sarvva-samayālaḷaku drōhuḍaina Kārapakala Kāṭinā-  
 22 yaṇim boḍuvaṁ ba[m\*]ppinaṁ boḍchi paṇttamu dechchina Puli-  
 23 yamma-seṭṭiki ichchina śa(śā)sana-kramamu yeṭaṁṇanu sva-  
 24 sti[ll\*] śrī-jayabhyudaya-Śakha(ka)varushambu-  
 25 lu 1225 va(a)guṇēti Krōdhi-saṁvatsara Kārtika su(su)  
 26 10 gu nāḍu Puliyamak=ichchina mānyamu ē-

1 Read *vīr-ōchita*.

2 Numeral 1 is engraved near the margin to the left of the ring hole indicating the number of the plate.

3 Read *lāṁchchhanulaina*.

4 Read *mukha-maṇṭapamunamdu*.

5 Numeral 2 is engraved near the margin to the left of the ring hole indicating the number of the plate.

*Third Plate : First Side*

- 27 nūri ma[nya]mu chaitrālu ēnūru ēnugulu ēnū-  
 28 ru gurālu ēnūru bhamḍlu ēnūru varupu-  
 29 ḍlu ēnūru miryyamu bāruvulu ēnūrum  
 30 pōmka perukalu ēnūru cheramalavalu enu(nū)-  
 31 ru suruvuḍmalavalu ēnūru pratti malavalu  
 32 e[nū\*]ru uppu e(pe)rukalu ēnūru pōtu perukalu ē-  
 33 nūru eddu perukalu ēnūru gaḍidi(da) hāsi-

*Third Plate : Second Side<sup>1</sup>*

- 34 belu ēnūru mūpu nāsibelu ēnūru enumulu  
 35 ēnūru āvulu enuru sumkkya-dhanyālu eḍu dhānya-  
 36 lu nūvulu [v]erasina vitalamu dela nana ppa(pra)kā[ra\*]lā nānā-  
 37 bhaḍḍala vala[na\*] amminavānki konnavānki sarvvama(mā)nyamu  
 38 yitaḍu ye deśamu mīmḍa naḍachinanu ā deśasagamla<sup>2</sup>  
 39 rajulunu a deśa(śa)naga[la\*] pekka[m\*]ḍrunu miku seli[m\*]chēdi cheli[m\*]pani  
 vā-  
 40 ru Gamga kaṛata vēyikavu(vi)lalam boḍchina dōśā(shā)nam bōvuvāru ta-  
 41 ma peda-koḍku kapāla(la)na kaṭuka vaṭṭina dōśa(shā)nam bōvuvāru[ll\*] Ma[m\*]  
 gaḷa-ma-  
 42 hā-śrī-śrī-śrī[ll\*]

*B. Copper-plate charter of the time of Kākatiya Pratāparudra, Śaka 1244*

This is also a set of 3 oblong copper-plates with low rims engraved on all six sides. The plates are strung together on a copper ring about 7.6 cms in diameter, the ends of which are fixed into the two arms of the small but thick bracket in the bottom of its fixed bull-seal. The bull is in seated posture and it is shown in full relief to the height of about 3.8 cms. The plates measure about 21.8 cms in length and about 12.2 cms in breadth. The total weight of the set is 2274 gms. The writing is well preserved.

This charter is engraved in Telugu characters and language of the 14th century to which the record belongs. The **palaeography** does not call for any special remarks except that in one instance the medial *a* sign (*dirgha*) is indicated by a vertical stroke on the top of the

1 Numeral 3 is engraved near the margin to the left of the ring hole indicating the number of the plate.

2 Read *dēśānamgala*

## TWO COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS FROM NELLORE DISTRICT

— PLATE II

iii a

2

28  
 30  
 32

28  
 30  
 32

iii b

34 ಶಿವಶಾಸ್ತ್ರವು ಮುಗಿಸಿದಂತೆ ನಮಗೆ ಮನವರಿಕೆ  
 36 ಉಮಾ ವಾಯು ದೇವತೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಮುಖಾಂತರವಾಗಿ  
 38 ಉತ್ತರವಾಯು ದೇವತೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಮುಖಾಂತರವಾಗಿ  
 40 ಮುಖಾಂತರವಾಗಿ ಮುಖಾಂತರವಾಗಿ ಮುಖಾಂತರವಾಗಿ  
 42 ಮುಖಾಂತರವಾಗಿ ಮುಖಾಂತರವಾಗಿ ಮುಖಾಂತರವಾಗಿ



concerned letter as in *karaṇālu* (line 27). The letters are in uniform size and are well engraved.

As regards **orthography** the following features are noteworthy: In some instances, as is common during the period in question, *anusvāra* is used where it should not be (e.g., *labdhāṁnēka*, line 2; *virājitāṁnūna*, line 4; *parākramōṁnata*, line 5); *ri* or *ru* is used for *ṛi* (*vrishabha* and *prithvi* for *vṛishabha* and *prīthvi*, respectively, lines 12 and 26; -*ālaṁkruta* for -*ālaṁkrīta*, line 2); doubling of consonant following *rēpha* can be observed in some instances (e.g., *suvarṇna* for *suvarṇa*, line 4; in this case it may be noted that dental *n* is used instead of cerebral *ṇ* while doubling); use of *perumāḍlu* for *perumāḷlu* (line 31) and *tāmbra* for *tāmra* (line 39) also deserve attention. Further, it may be noted that the titles of the members of the merchant guild are in Kannaḍa as in charter A. However, in one instance viz., *bhūshanulurū* (for Kannaḍa *bhūshanarum*) the local influence can be noticed. On the whole it may be stated that compared to charter A this grant contains less number of orthographical errors.

This is dated Śaka 1244, Duṁḍubhi, Kārttika śu. 5, Thursday corresponding to 1322 A.D., October 15, Friday (and not Thursday).

The object of the charter is to grant certain privileges, as in charter A, to a certain Attena for executing, on the orders of the guild, Arṇamarāju and Siṁgarāju, who had turned traitors to the guild.

The record opens with an auspicious symbol followed by the words *avighnam=astu* and *svasti* and proceeds to give a string of epithets of the merchant guild. Apart from the epithets given in Charter A some more are given here. This is followed by the statement that while *mahamaṇḍalēśvara* Kākatīya Pratāparudra was ruling from his capital (*modali paṭnamu*) Oruṅgallu, Arṇamarāja and Siṁgarāju, the *sunḱa-karaṇams* of Cheṛunūru in Peḍakarṇṭi-deśamu, having turned traitors to the 18 *samayas*, the *samasta-pekkamḍru* of *Chalumūlapadunenimidi-samayālu* of Nandyāla-sthalamu, which is (an) important (division) in Peḍakarṇṭi-deśamu, assembled in the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, of the temple of Chennakēśava-perumāḍlu, set up *vajra-baisiga* in that *maṇḍapa*, summoned to their presence the traitors Arṇamarāju and Siṁgarāju by ringing the bell (*ā drōhulaina Arṇamarājuku Siṁgarājuku dēśāla pekkamḍru gharṇṭa vrēsi*). Then the *pekkamḍru* gave *siguru* (probably the weapon of execution) and *Sarṁbaḍamu* (probably remuneration) to Attena, son of Lōki-seṭṭi in order that he may carry out the death sentence pronounced by the guild against the traitors. He duly executed their orders and in appreciation of his service the *pekkamḍru*, on the date quoted, granted certain privileges to him like exempting him from paying duty for trading in certain articles both while buying and selling. It is further stated that whenever he visited other countries, the ruler and the *pekkamḍru* of those countries should allow him to enjoy these exemptions. Then follow the imprecatory passages in Telugu and Sanskrit.

It is interesting to note that in this case the culprits were officials discharging the duty of revenue accounts (*sunḱa-karaṇālu*). These officials were probably employed by the guild itself. From this we may conclude that the guild was empowered to collect taxes for that purpose and employ their own *sunḱa-karaṇams* and that the guild was also empowered to punish to any extent any one who flouted their customs and conventions.

The list of duty-free goods given in this charter as well in Charter A gives us an idea about the merchandise in which these guilds were trading. The list includes elephants,

horses, carts, pepper, rice, arecanuts, cotton, salt, silk, sandal, musk, precious stones, etc.

Of the **geographical** names occurring in this grant Ayyavole and Nandyāla-sthalamu have been discussed under Charter A. Pedakallu, the headquarters of the division Pedakamṭi-deśamu, is identical with Pendekallu in Dronachalam Taluk, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh while Pedakamṭi-deśamu is represented by the region around present Pendekallu. The village Cheranuru, which is included in Pedakamṭi-deśamu, cannot be identified.

### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

#### *First Plate : First Side*

- 1 Siddham [||\*]<sup>2</sup> Avighnam=astu || Svasti [||\*] Samasta-bhuvana-jana-vinuta-vikhyāta-pamchaśata-ko-
- 2 ṭi-vistṛṇṇa(rṇa)-vira-śasana-labdham(bdh-a)neka-bhūri-guṇ=ālamkru(ṛi)ta satya-śaucha-charu<sup>3</sup>-cha-
- 3 rītra naya-vinaya-vipula-vijñāna-vira-balamjiga<sup>4</sup>-samaya-dharmma-paripālakaru
- 4 m suvarṇna-garuda-dhvajarum virajitam(t-a)nuna sahas-ot[t\*]umga-kirtyām(rty-am)-
- 5 gaṇ-aṁgita-nija-bhūja-viśāla-vakṣa[stha\*]larum tribhuvana-parākram-omṇata
- 6 rum Śri-Baladeva-Khaṁdali-Mulabhadra-vamśodbhavarum Ahi-
- 7 śha(che)chha)tra-vinirggatarum chelabharana-bhūshitarum śaranagata-vajra-parṇja-
- 8 rulum ekaika-virarum lokaika-manyarum kadana-prachamḍarum ripu-
- 9 hrī(hrī)daya=śalyarum mārehokkade kavaram para-nari-sahodara-
- 10 rum sad-guṇ-abharanarum para-samaya-sarvva-dhana-chuṛaka-

#### *First Plate : Second Side<sup>5</sup>*

- 11 raru kanaka-kamchulike-Kamadevarum balumke-damḍa-hastarum mahi-
- 12 sha-vṛi(vṛi)shabha-gardabha-vahanarum dvija-guru-devata-puja(jā)-sa-
- 13 mpam<sup>6</sup>naru dharmma-charitra-kīrti-bhūṣaṇulūm abhima-

1 From estampages

2 Expressed by a symbol

3 Read satya-śaucha-chara-

4 The letter ga or ganyā or gāḍ has been accommodated subsequently in the span between ji and sa.

5 Numeral 1 is engraved in a left margin of the plate in between lines 1 and 2 indicating the number of the plate.

6 The anusvara is engraved in small size between the letters pa and n.

## TWO COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS FROM NELLORE DISTRICT

— PLATE III

**ia**

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 10

ib

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20



22 22  
 24 24  
 26 26  
 28 28  
 30 30

32 32  
 34 34  
 36 36  
 38 38  
 40 40

- 14 na-śobhitarum maḷala-saravi-hosavarum huliya misailu<sup>1</sup>yyā-  
 15 laḍuvarum beṭṭavan-ēri yamri(mṛi)ta karavarum keśara  
 16 kichchiḍuvarum desege bobbiḍuvarum toṭiyamdaḍe kō-  
 17 ṭi lābhavembarum hoha māriyanu challavaḍuvarum  
 18 bahamāriyan-eduru gombavarum bārada mārige baḷiya-  
 19 naṭṭuvarum hadu(di)nemṭu yōga baramgaḷum svasti samasta-  
 20 praśasti-sahitam śrī-Bhagavati-dēvi-labdha-vara-prasadakaru[m]<sup>2</sup>

*Second Plate : First Side*

- 21 Śrī-Vāsudēva-[chakra\*]-lāmcha(chha)narum<sup>3</sup> Śrī-Gavu(va)rē śvara-dēva-divya-śrī-  
 pā  
 22 da-padm-ārādhakulaina chālū(lu)mūla padunenimidi-samaya-  
 23 la ubhayā(ya)-nānā-dēśi akhila-nāḷgu-dēśāla samasta-pekkamḍṛunu |  
 24 Svasti [ |\*]śrīman=mahamamḍaleśvara Kākatīyya Prataparudradeva-  
 25 mahārājulu Orumgallu modali paṭnamugānu sukha-samka-  
 26 thā-vinōdambunam-bru(bri)thvirāyamu sēyuchumḍamgānu  
 27 Peḍakamṭi dēsamulōni Cherunūri sumka-karaṇalu Arṇamarāju-  
 28 mnu Siṁgarājumnu padunenimidi samayalakumnu samaya-  
 29 virōdhulayi naḍavamgānu Peḍakamṭi dēśāṇaku mukhyamayina  
 30 Namdyāla-sta(stha)lamu chālū(lu)mūla padunenimidi-samaya-

*Second Plate : Second Side <sup>4</sup>*

- 31 la samasta-pekkamḍṛunu śrī-Chennakēśava-perumāla mukha-marṇ-  
 32 ḍapamunarṇdu vajra-baisiga veṭṭi drōhulaina Arṇamarājuku Siṁ-  
 33 garājuku Dēśāla pekkamḍṛu gharṇṭa vrēsi ā paṁtagāṇḍu Loki-se-  
 34 ṭṭi koḍuku Attenaku sigurumnu sambaḍamumnu ichchi paṁpitē-  
 35 nu ā drōhulaina Arṇamarājumnu Siṁgarājumnu  
 36 poḍichi paṁtamu sēsi āchāramu sellimstēnu dēśāla pekkamḍṛu mechchi  
 37 Svasti [ ||\*] śrī-jayābhyudaya-śrī-Śāka-varushambulu <sup>5</sup> 1244  
 38 agunēmṭi Durṇḍubhi-samvatsara Kārttika śu 5 Gu | ā paṁtagāra  
 39 Attenaku gollena cherlu viḍuvaka ichchina tāmbra-śāsana-krama-  
 40 m-eṭlānṇanu | 500 mūmpu asibelum | 500 gāḍidi a-

1 Read *mlseyal-u*°.

2 The *anusvāra* seems to have been engraved in very small size below the letter *ru*.

3 *Anusvāra* is engraved in very small size between the letters *ru* and *śrī*.

4 The numeral 2 is engraved in the left margin just below the first letter indicating the number of the plate

5 This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

*Third Plate : First Side*

- 41 sibelum | 500 enupotula pratti malagalum uppu perukalu-  
 42 m nuli malagalum | 500 edla chirataḍaṅgalum | 500 miri-  
 43 yapu perukalum | 500 pomka perukalum | 500 chaṁ-  
 44 ḍlum | 500 chaitralum | 500 enumgulum | 500 gu-  
 45 ralum paṭṭu-nulu gamdhamu kasturi muttu-maṇi-  
 46 kyadi navaratnalunum | nana-sarakulu emi dechchina-  
 47 nu amminanu konnanu sarvvamanyam | suryya-cham-  
 48 dr-arkka-sthayiganu istimi || i pamta-gamdu e deśamu-  
 49 mimda nadachinanu a deśamu rajulumnu a pekkam-  
 50 ḍrunu chelimpuvaru [I\*] chellimpaka evvaru vakramu se-

*Third Plate : Second Side*

- 51 sinaru Varanāsini paṁcha brahmhatya<sup>1</sup> sesina doṣhāna povu-  
 52 varu tama pedda-kodukum jampi kapalana kaṭuka vaṭṭina  
 53 doṣhāna povuvaru stri-vadhānu go-vadhanu chesina doṣhāna  
 54 povuvaru Gaṁga karata kavulam boḍichina doṣhānam  
 55 bovuvāru[I\*] yavah chaṁdrasya suryyasya |  
 56 yavatishṭhatu mēdini | yavad=Rama-katha loke | tava-  
 57 d=rajyam vibhīṣhaṇa || Sva-datta dviguṇam punyam | para-da-  
 58 tt-anukulanam | para-datt-apahārena | sva-dattam nishpa-  
 59 lam bhavetu<sup>2</sup> || Śrī-Govindaya-nama[h\*] | Maṅgala-mahā-śrī-śrī [II\*]

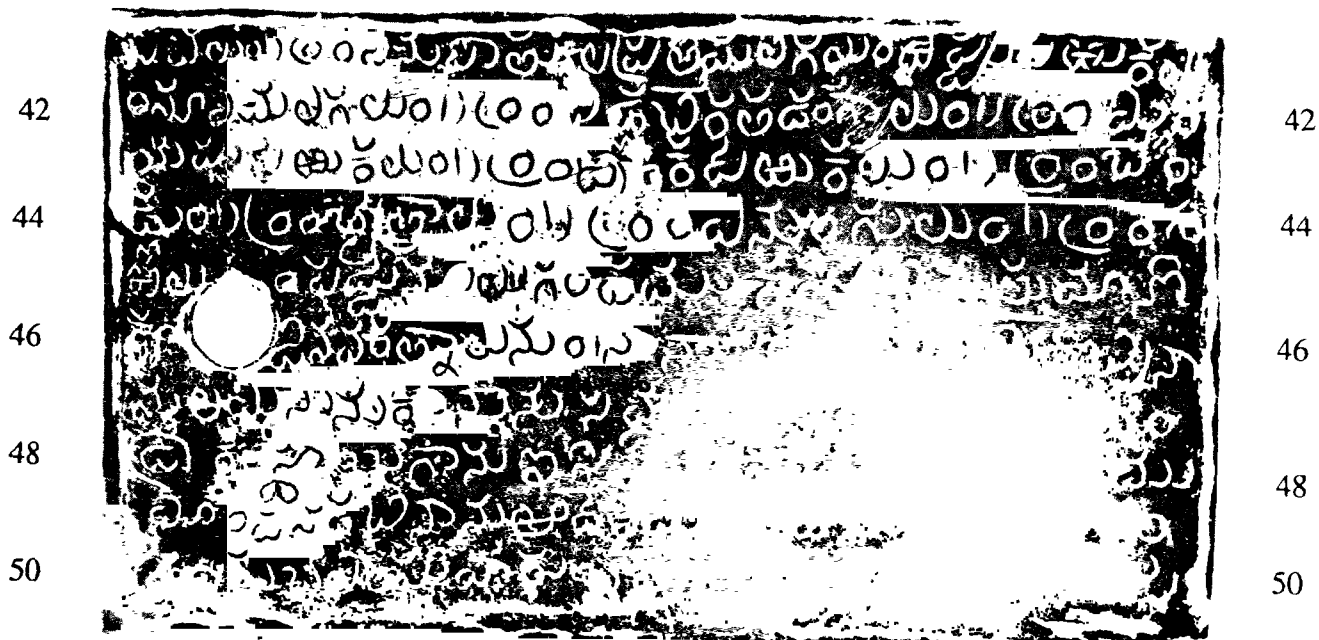
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1 Read *brahma-hatya*

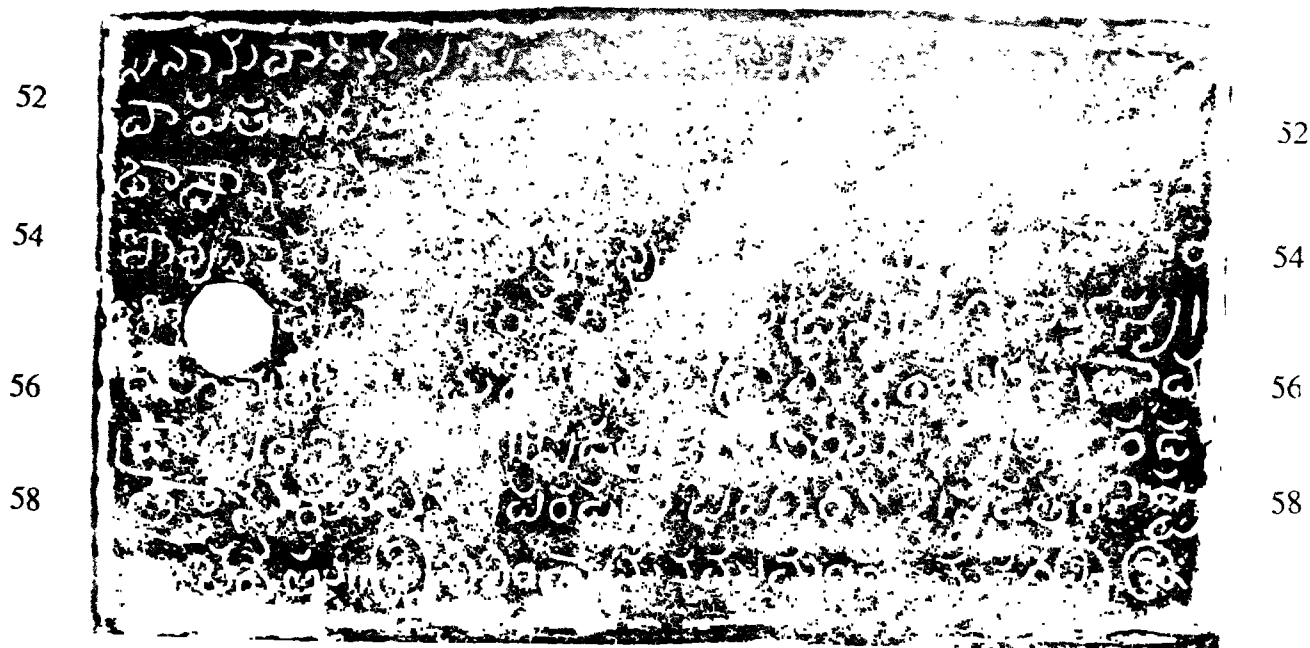
2 These two popular imprecatory verses are replete with orthographical errors.

TWO COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS FROM NELLORE DISTRICT  
—PLATE IV

iii a



iii b





## No. 24—BARADIPADA COPPER-PLATE CHARTER OF NANDARĀJADĒVA, YEAR 2

(1 Plate)

*S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore*

The copper-plate charter, edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was discovered while digging a field at Baradipada near Narala P.S., in Kalahandi District, Orissa. The plates are now kept in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubanēśvar. They were examined and their impressions and photographs taken when Shri K.G. Krishnan, the then Chief Epigraphist visited Bhubanēśvar in 1980 in the course of his official tour. The charter is edited here with the help of these impressions and photographs.

The plates are three in number and they are rectangular in shape, each one of them measuring 12.4 cm in length and 4.9 cm in breadth. They are strung together with a copper ring, the two ends of which are soldered to the two sides of a circular seal which is 2.5 cm in diameter. The seal is very much corroded and it seems to contain a legend in one line of which only the first letter *śrī* is legible. The writing on the plates is in a fairly good state of preservation although the letters have not been deeply and sharply incised. There are altogether 18 lines of writing distributed on the inner side of the first plate and on all four sides of the remaining two plates. While I, II a and II b contain 4 lines of writing each, III a contains 5 lines of which the last one is made up of only two letters while III b carries a single line giving the details of the date.

The **characters** belong to the Kalinga alphabet of about the 7th century A.D. and they can be compared with those of the Sumanḍala plates of Prīthivivigraha-bhaṭṭāraka dated in the Gupta year 250,<sup>1</sup> the Kanās plate of Lōkavigraha-bhaṭṭāraka dated in the Gupta year 280<sup>2</sup> and the Gañjām plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja dated in the Gupta year 300<sup>3</sup>. However, the letter *ś* does not have a round loop on top of its left limb as is found in the charters referred to above. In this connection, it may be noted that in the above three records, both the round-looped and triangle-looped varieties of *ś* are found whereas in the present charter, only the triangle-loop type of *ś* is seen with no inside opening. This probably means that the charter under study is somewhat later in date. Consequently, we are inclined to assign this charter to about the second half of the 7th century A.D.

There are some **orthographical** errors met with in the record, including certain omissions and commissions and these have been rectified while editing the text below.

The record is in prose. It commences with the auspicious words *Siddham* (expressed by a symbol) and *svasti*. It then describes (lines 1-5) Parvatadvāra from where the charter in question is issued. Then is mentioned (lines 5-8) the donor of the grant *viz.*,

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1 Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 79.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 321 ff

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

Nandarajadēva who, it may be noted is not endowed with any of the royal titles although he is described as having his foot-stool illumined by the jewels adorning the crowns of the feudatory kings. The charter then records (lines 8-15) the royal order addressed to the villagers residing in the village Chitalika registering the perpetual grant of that village to the *brahmanas* Bhanu-śarmman, Gauri-śarmman and Mātri-śarmman belonging to different *gotras*, *charanas* and *pravaras* for the merit of the donor's own merit and that of his parents. The residents of the above village were asked (lines 15-17) to make over to the donee the customary privileges i.e., *bhaga*, *bhoga*, etc. The record is dated (line 18) in the king's second regnal year and the 9th day (*navamī*). The name of the month is not given. Further, the charter does not contain any imprecatory verses as is usually found in the concluding portions of other copper-plate grants.

The importance of the charter lies in the fact that it introduces, for the first time, a king by name Nandarajadeva ruling over an area included in the present Kalahandi District in the 7th century A.D. The record, however, does not disclose the name of the family to which Nandarajadeva belonged nor does it mention his forbears. It only states that the charter was issued from Parvatadvāra which, from the way it is described in the grant, makes one conjecture that it might have been his capital. This place finds mention in the Terāsiṅghā plates of *maharāja* Tushtikara<sup>1</sup> which on palaeographic grounds have been assigned to the first half of the 6th century A.D. In the endorsement to the said grant, Parvatadvāraka is referred to as the place from where the queen-mother Kastubhasayyā (Kaustubhēśvari?) makes a grant. In the main charter, however, the place of issue is Tarabhramaraka from where *maharāja* Tushtikara gives the grant. From this, it can be concluded that Parvatadvāraka was included in the dominions of *maharāja* Tushtikara and it was an important place in his period. It is not known whether the same dynasty to which *maharāja* Tushtikara belonged continued to rule the same region in Kalahandi District in the seventh century A.D. and whether Nandarajadeva of the present charter belonged to the same dynasty. In this connection, it may be pointed out that in the Terāsiṅghā plates, *maharāja* Tushtikara is described as a devotee of the goddess Stambhēśvari whereas in the charter under review, no such description is found with regard to Nandarajadēva.

Parvatadvāraka, the place of issue of the present grant, cannot be identified. Dr. D.C. Sircar believes that it might have been situated on a pass between two hills.<sup>2</sup> Chitalikā, the gift village also cannot be identified.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

#### *First Plate*

- 1 Siddham [I\*] Svasti [II\*] Pratimatta-sūchit-ābhinava-ma[n̄ja]-
- 2 ri-kusum-odgam=odbhushita-śakhā-pravalānt-ā-
- 3 vali-lagna-madhya[t\*] samoda-mudita-mā(pra)bhā-

1 Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 274 ff

2 *Ibid.*, p. 276

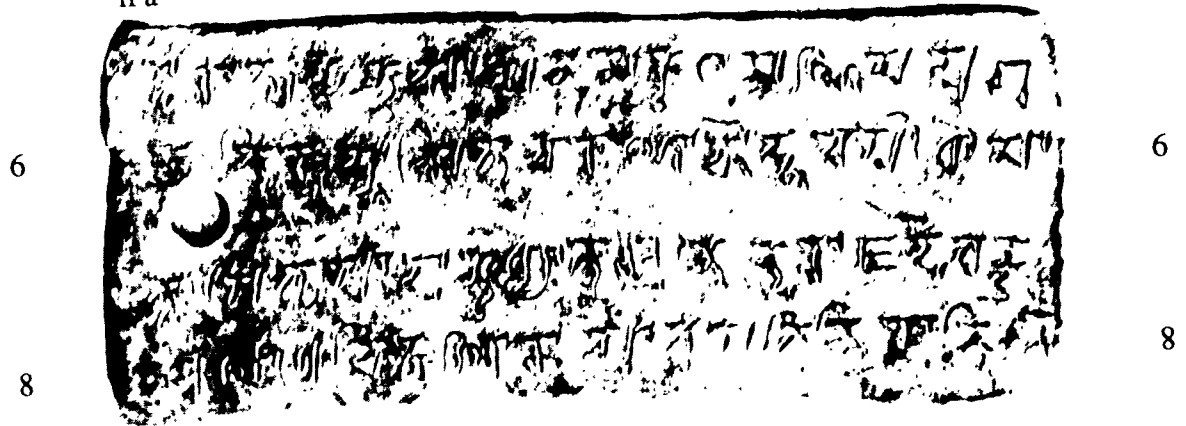
3 From impressions and photographs

BARADIPADA COPPER-PLATE CHARTER OF NANDARĀJADĒVA,  
YEAR 2

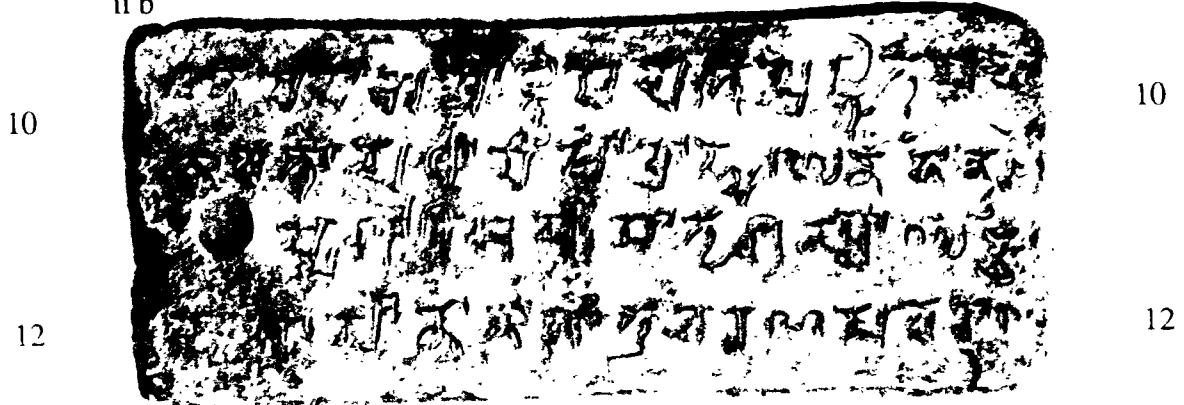
i



ii a



ii b

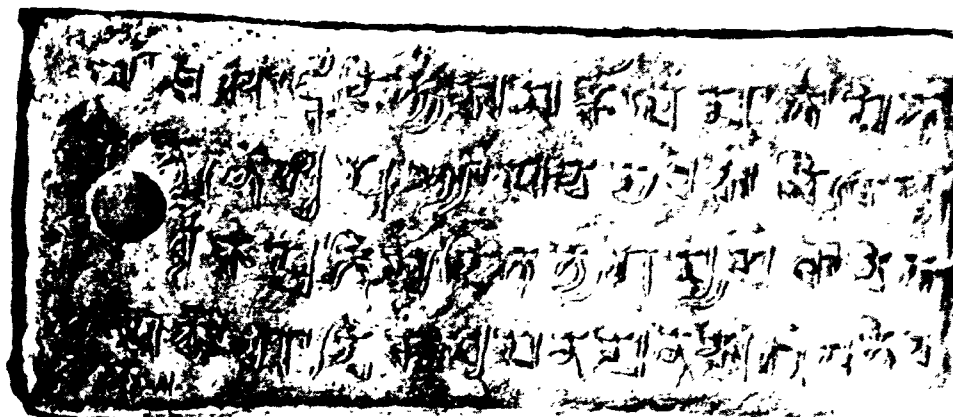




iii a

14

16



14

16

iii b

18



18

K V Ramesh

Scale : Actual Size

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII

4 bhi[ḥ\*]śilimukhair=alamkṛita-drumatat-<sup>1</sup> Parvata-

*Second Plate : First Side*

5 dvarat=paryanta-samanta-makuta-mani-mayukha-  
 6 dyutir=udbhasita-charaṇ-ambh-odbhava-pidho(ṭho) ma-  
 7 ta-pitri-pad-anudhyata[h\*] śri-Nandarājadēva[h\*]ku-  
 8 śali || Chitālikāyāmtapra(t=pra)tinivāsinō

*Second Plate : Second Side*

9 janapada(dan) samajñapayati prajñatam=astu  
 10 bhavataṁ yatham=esha<sup>2</sup> brahmananam<sup>3</sup> Bhanu-[śa]-  
 11 rmma-Gauri-śarmma-Matṛi-śarmmana<sup>4</sup> a-  
 12 yaṁ grāmo nana-gotra-charaṇa-pravarānā-

*Third Plate : First Side*

13 m<sup>5</sup>=Śaśāṅk-Aditya-samakalam māta-pitrō-  
 14 r-atmanaś=cha punya(ny=o)pachayārtham salila-pū-  
 15 rvvakam pratipadita[m=i\*]ty=a[va\*]gamyā yath-ōchita-  
 16 bhaga-bhogadikam=upalayanta[h\*] sukhām prativa-  
 17 sata [||\*]

*Third Plate : Second Side*

18 [vija]ya-rajya-samvat 2 dina-navami[||\*]

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1 Read *drum-ōpētāt*.  
 2 Read *yath=atēshām*.  
 3 Read *brāhmanēbhyah*.  
 4 Read *-śarmmaḥ*.  
 5 Read *pravarēbhyah*

## No. 25—AN EARLY INSCRIPTION FROM PARAIYANPATTU

(1 Plate)

P. Venkatesan, Mysore

The inscription edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore is found engraved on an almost inaccessible natural rock at the top of a hill, locally called *Śunaippara-kunru*, on account of the existence of a natural spring (*śunai*) which provides drinking water to the people living nearby, roughly some two kilometres away to the north-west of the village Paraiyanpattu in Gingee Taluk of South Arcot District, Tamil Nadu.<sup>1</sup>

It is in Tamil language and engraved in Vatteluttu characters of about the 6th century A.D. It begins with the salutation *namottu*. In all it contains five lines of writing. The letters are engraved in bold hand with deep cuttings. Except for a few letters which are damaged owing to exposure to open atmosphere, the inscription, on the whole, is well preserved.

The **palaeography** of the inscription is interesting as some of the letters like *k*, *ch* and *r* point to their evolution direct from Brahmi script. A few letters like *a*, *m*, *t*, *n* and *r* display archaic features of the Vatteluttu alphabet. The *dirgha* is clearly distinguished by a horizontal stroke on the right side top of letters as in *mo*, *pa*, *na*, *ma*, *ra* and *no*. The *dirgha* form of *śi* is shown by the drawing of a near full round curve whereas the ordinary form of *ti* is devoid of this round curve. It is also significant that in the word *manakkar* the letters *k* and *ka* are written jointly. The inscription is characterised by the use of dots (*pulli*) above consonants like, *t*, *r* and *l*.

The **characters** of this inscription may be compared to those of the Tirunatharkunru inscription,<sup>2</sup> which is also written in similar characters, the major difference being the use of dots (*pulli*) above the consonants in the present inscription which is conspicuously absent in the latter. The sign for medial *ai* in the letter *kai* is distinctly shown in our present record by drawing a full curve with a loop on its left side, whereas in the Tirunatharkunru inscription it is shown merely with a loop, and not with a full curve. The letter *n*, in the name *Arataṇ*, is shown fully developed in our present record, characterised by the use of a loop at the beginning, whereas the *n* in the word *anaśanan* in the Tirunatharkunru record is much simpler in form. It is also interesting to note that our present record has been copied from a place not very far from Tirunatharkunru near Śingavaram, both the places being situated in the same Gingee Taluk.

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1 This inscription is included in *AREp*, 1984-85. The inscription was first discovered by the late Pulavar S. Kuppuswamy who was kind enough to supply a photograph through Sri N. Sethuraman.

2 *SHI*, Vol. XVII, No. 262, Introduction, para. 1 and plate.

The **characters** of this inscription may also be compared with those of the Pūlāṅkuṛichchi inscription<sup>1</sup> though the latter is slightly earlier in date. We find striking similarity in the characters employed in both these inscriptions. The forms of some of the test letters like *k*, *t*, *ch* and *n* show striking similarity in both the records. Also the bold characters, engraved in a fashion common to both the inscriptions, make us to believe that they belong to the same school of engraving. Thus on palaeographical grounds our present inscription falls into the same period to which the Pūlāṅkuṛichchi inscription also belongs.

Some of the letters in our inscription such as *n*, *t*, *r* and *k* are apparently more advanced than those of the Arachchalūr inscription<sup>2</sup> in Brāhmī characters. A few letters like *n*, *p*, *r*, *s* and *r* which appear in our inscription also bear striking similarity with those appearing in the hero-stone inscription<sup>3</sup> from Irulappatti in Dharmapuri District though the latter is also, like the one from Pūlāṅkuṛichchi, slightly earlier than the record under study. The one major difference is that our present inscription seems to have been written by the refined hand of an engraver of the Jaina School. Apart from this marked factor, it may also be pointed out that all the inscriptions referred to above, including the one under study, belong to a stage in which the Brāhmī script was gradually getting transformed into Vaṭṭeḷuttu.

The **object** of the inscription is to commemorate the death by penance of Ārātaṇ, the disciple of the Jaina preceptor Vachchaṇandi of Paṇāḍu. It states that the spot of the inscription is the memorial (*niśitikaḷ*) of Ārātaṇ.

The name of the Jaina teacher Vachchaṇandi and the territorial division viz., Paṇāḍu are interesting. Vachchaṇandi may probaly be the Vajjiranandi of the Jaina school at Southern Pāṭaliputra (i.e., the modern Tiruppappuliyūr), which is not far away from the provenance of our inscription. The territorial division viz., Paṇāḍu is, in all probability, the same as Bāṇāḍu i.e., the the ṇāḍu of the Bāṇas. The Bāṇas were an ancient line of kings, who also ruled a portion of the Tamil country.<sup>4</sup> This is the earliest so far known inscription, which mentions their territorial division as Paṇāḍu. The names Vāṇagōppāḍi-ṇāḍu and Perumbāṇappāḍi, etc., are employed in the Tamil inscriptions of the latter period to indicate the territory of the Bāṇas. This territory probably formed the southern portions of the modern North Arcot District and probably also a portion adjacent to it in the South Arcot District. The village Mēlvāṇakkambāḍi, possibly the corrupt form of Mēlvāṇagōppāḍi, may have been the western boundary of Vāṇagōppāḍi, and the village Kīlvāṇakkambāḍi near Dēvikāpuram may have ben the eastern boundary of the same division. The provenance of our inscription viz., Paraiyaṇpattu was well within the Bāṇa territory.

1 The full text of this important inscription awaits publication.

2 *AREp.*, 1961-62, No. B 280 and Introduction, p. 10 and plate II; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XL, pp. 91-94.

3 Above, Vol. XXXIX, part VI, pp. 211-14 and plate.

4 For a detailed discussion on the Bāṇas, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 229-40.

The inscription is silent about the number of days Arataṇ, the disciple of Vachchaṇandi Aśiriyar, observed fast before his death, whereas it is customary among the Jaina inscriptions to state the number of days the deceased observed fast before his death. The Tirunātharkuṇṇu inscription states that Chandiranandi Aśirigar observed fast for fifty seven days before his death. Another inscription<sup>1</sup> from the same place states that Ilaiya-bhaṭarar observed fast for thirty days and ultimately died.

The provenance of the inscription, which is not very far away from Tirunātharkuṇṇu, where two similar inscriptions are found, shows that this area was one of the strongholds of Jainism in those days.

#### TEXT <sup>2</sup>

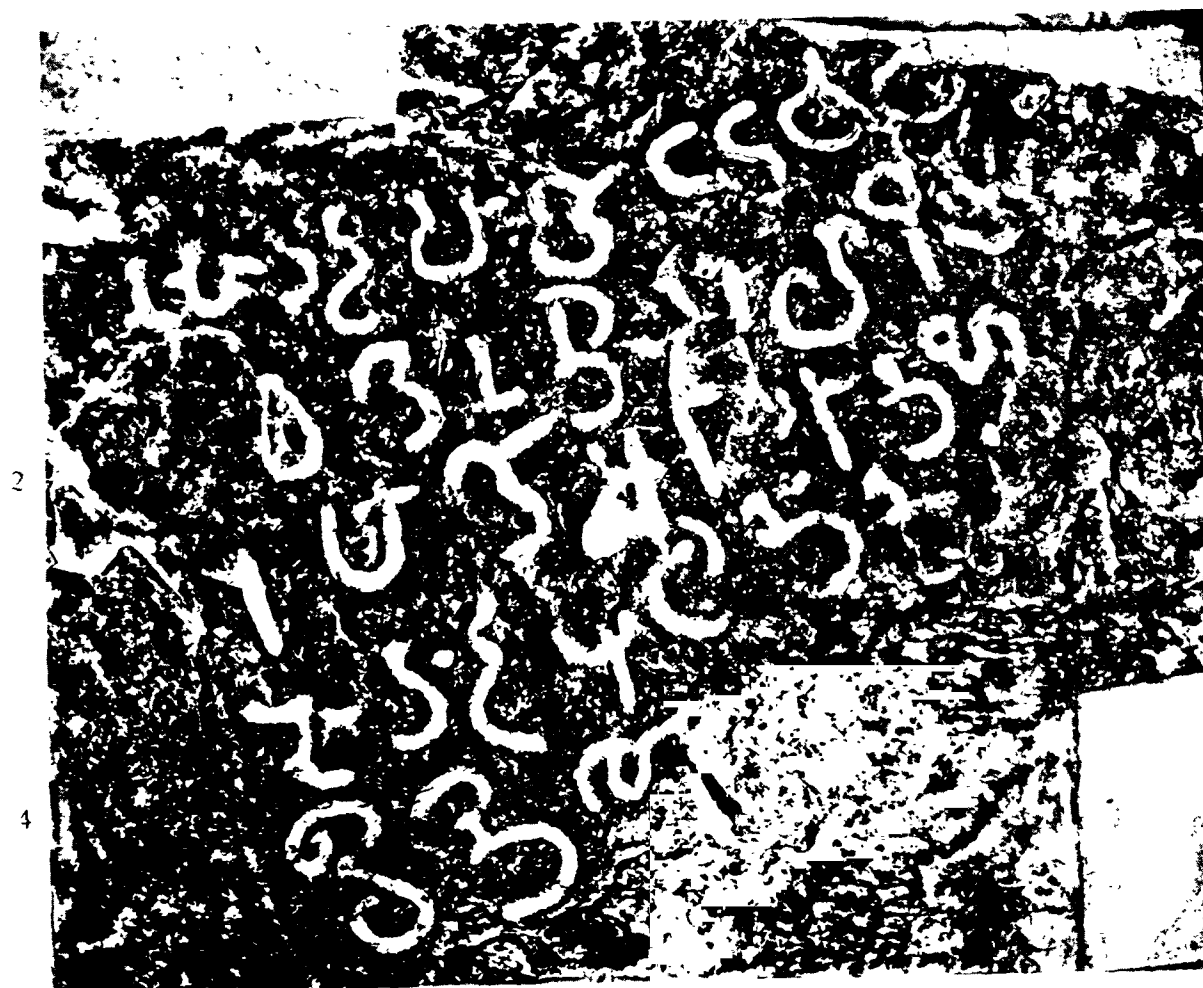
- 1 Namōttu [ |\* ] Panattu Va[ch]-
- 2 chanandi aśiriyā-
- 3 r manakkar-aratan
- 4 nōṛru muḍitta [ni]-
- 5 śitikai [ ||\* ]

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1 *SII*, Vol. XVII, No. 261.

2 From the impression.

AN EARLY INSCRIPTION FROM PARAIYANPATTU



K. V. Ramesh.

Ep Ind. Vol. XLII



## No. 26—TĒRĀLA INSCRIPTION OF SARVALŌKĀŚRAYA VISHNUVARDHAN, YEAR 25

(2 Plates)

S.S. Ramachandramurthy, Mysore

The subjoined inscription<sup>1</sup>, edited herewith the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, is engraved on two sides of a slab set up in front of the Siddhēśvarasvāmi temple at Tērāla, Palnad Taluk, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. The inscription was originally copied during the year 1929-30 and it was again copied in 1977. However, the impressions taken in the latter year contain only 14 lines on the obverse and 10 on the reverse while the original epigraph has 17 and 14 lines on the obverse and reverse respectively. This inscription is published in the *Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangana Districts*, Part IV (hereafter referred to as *Corpus*) with a fairly good facsimile containing complete text.<sup>2</sup> Since the estampages prepared during 1929-30 are not readily available the inscription is edited here with the help of impressions taken in 1977 and the plate published in the said *Corpus*. A number of mistakes, including in the reading of the date, committed while editing the inscription in the *Corpus*, as also the interesting palaeographical features of the record warrant its re-editing in the following pages.

The inscription is engraved in Telugu language and characters belonging to the end of the 8th century to which it is actually to be assigned taking the internal evidence also into consideration.

Some of the **palaeographical** features of the record are very interesting. Though it belongs to the end of the 8th century, as attested by the internal evidence, some of the letters betray palaeographical features of about the middle of the 9th century. But a close study of the other letters in the epigraph coupled with the positive nature of internal evidence furnished by the text of the record clearly proves that it actually belongs to the previous century. Coming to its interesting palaeographical features it may be observed that many letters appear in their cursive as well as regular forms. The use of so many cursive forms in inscriptions of this period and region is an uncommon feature. The following letters are engraved in cursive forms : *n*, lines 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11 and 16; *m*, line 8; *y*, line 2; *r*, lines 3 and 11; *v*, lines 1, 5, 6, 10, 19 and 27; the head mark of *d* in *iruvadyadi* (lines 5-6) and that of *h* in *Bahūdhavya* (line 7) is also engraved in cursive form. The longish vertical form of *k* is an early palaeographical feature.

As regards **orthography** the following features deserve mention. The use of the conjunct *um* in *Pañchamiy-um* (line 10) is an early Telugu feature, subsequently replaced by *un*. The use of class nasal in some cases side by side with the use of *anusvāra* in some others is a common transitional feature of the period in question. The following words are written with class nasals : *nēṇṭhi* (lines 7 and 8); *Kḷompala* (lines 12-13) and *pasinḍi* (lines 15 and 17). The two instances where *anusvāra* is used instead of class nasal are : *vāramba*

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1 *AREp.*, 1929-30, No. 80.

2 *Corpus*, pp. ix and 1-2; plate facing p. 1.



(lines 10-11) and °*svarambuna* (lines 11-12). The expression *anēṇṭhi* (for *ā + nēṇṭhi*), lines 7-8, formed obviously on the analogy of *appasiṇḍi* (for *ā + pasiṇḍi* lines 16-17), is interesting. Doubling of the consonants immediately followed by a *rēpha* can be noted in a few instances such as *Sarvva* (line 1), -*varddhana* (line 2), etc.

The inscription is dated in the 25th regnal year of Sarvvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja, the other details of date being Bahudhānya, Kārttika śu.5, Sunday. This king may be identified with Eastern Chālukya Vishṇuvarddhana IV, as can be seen in the sequel. If this identification is accepted the details of the date would correspond to 798 A.D., October 18, Thursday (and not Sunday).

The object of the epigraph is to record the grant of 100 gold *gadyānas* to the god Siddhēśvara at Tēṛāla. There is a reference to the grant of some land also to the same deity but the details are not clear as the second side of the slab containing those details has suffered considerable damage.

The inscription opens with the auspicious word *Svasti* followed by the mention of the reigning king and the details of date discussed above. Then it proceeds to record the grant of 100 gold (*pasiṇḍi*) *gadyānas* to the god Siddhēśvara by Kḷompala Lōkamayya and Jeṭṭimayya of Guṇḍabaḍi. The following portion upto line 21 has suffered serious damage as a result of which we are unable to understand the details about the grant of land (*chēnu*) which is adverted to in the subsequent lines. The portion from lines 22 to 25 says that 8 *puṭṭis* of land was donated to the god Siddhēśvara. The expression *ap-pasiṇḍi yichchi* ('by giving that gold') occurring in line 17 tempts us to surmise that the gift-land was purchased by paying 100 gold *gadyānas* donated by Lōkamayya and Jeṭṭimayya. This is followed by the imprecatory passage according to which those who obstruct this grant will incur the sin of destroying Śrīparvata and Tēṛambulu. Then the epigraph comes to a close with the statement that it was written by a certain Maka who was the son of Yacha[.] of Tēṛamulu.

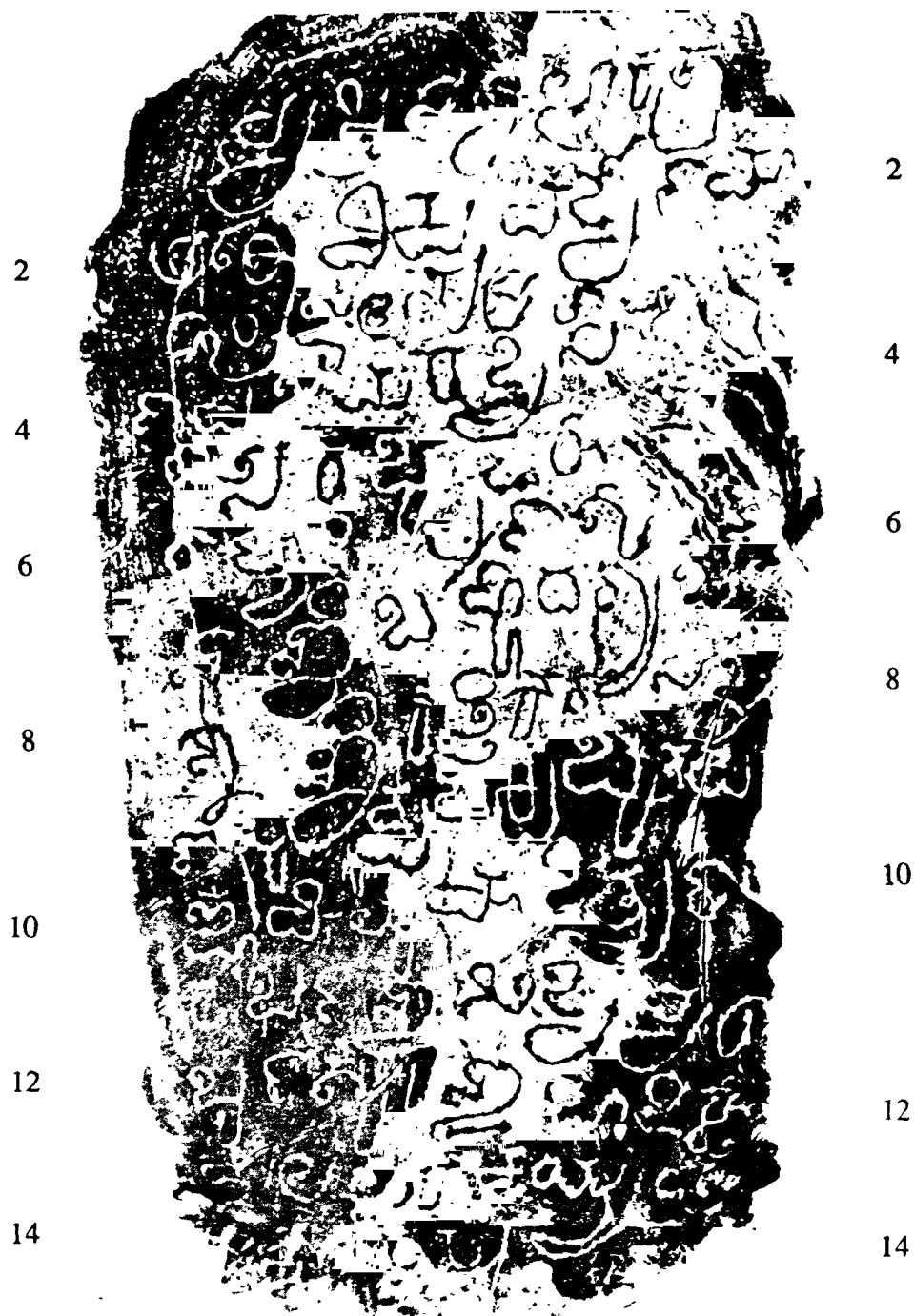
As has been stated earlier, the serious mistakes committed in the earlier works necessitated the re-editing of this incirption here. The most important mistake committed was about the date of the record. In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1929-30 the regnal year was read as 5. Further this *Report* says, "The only Vishṇuvardhana whose 5th year was Bahudhānya is Vishṇuvardhana I, but the characters are too late for him. If the record be assumed to be a copy, the date of the grant would be 621-622. A.D. "<sup>1</sup> Subsequently this inscription was edited in the *Corpus* according to which also the regnal year of the king mentioned in the epigraph was 5. However, Sarvvalōkāśraya-Vishṇuvarddhana was taken here to be Vishṇuvarddhana II and as a result the date was equated to 679 A.D., October 6, Sunday.<sup>2</sup> Both the *Report* and the *Corpus* wrongly read the regnal year as 5 instead of 25. The concerned portion is read in the *Corpus* as follows : *vijayarājya-sa[m]vatsara[m\*]bu[=aru rājyādi ēnagu nēṇṭi*. The portion which is read in the *Corpus* as *l=aru rājyādi* is actually to be read as *l=iruvadyadi*. The first letter of this segment is *li* and not *la*. In this inscription the medial *i* is indicated by a circle and the top curve of medial *i* of *li* can easily be seen as cutting the subscript *y* where the latter is joining its

1 Appendix C, p. 61

2 *Op. cit*



TĒRĀLA INSCRIPTION OF SARVALŌKĀŚRAYA VISHṆUVARDDHANA,  
YEAR 25—PLATE I



superscript *d*. Then, in what is taken by the *Corpus* as *rājya*, the first letter is nothing but a cursive *va* and the second one is *dya*. A comparison of these two letters with their counterparts occurring elsewhere in this inscription makes the above point abundantly clear and proves the authenticity of the suggested reading. Now, having confirmed that the regnal year is 25 and not 5 we can proceed to identify the king referred to in this record. The cyclic year Bahudhanya and the regnal year 25 correspond only in the case of Vishṇuvarddhana IV who is supposed to have commenced his rule in 772 A.D. If we accept 772 A.D. as the commencing year of his rule, the regnal year mentioned in our inscription is to be taken as current. Thus we can safely assume that the present inscription actually belongs to Vishṇuvarddhana IV and not to Vishṇuvarddhana I or II as is postulated by the *Report* and *Corpus* respectively.

The **geographical** names occurring in this inscription viz., Tērāmbulu and Guṇḍabāḍi, may be identified respectively with Tērala, the findspot of the epigraph, and Guṇḍlapaḍu both in Palnad Taluk, Guntur District.

### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

#### Obverse

- 1 Svasti [||\*] Sarvvaloka(kā)śra-
- 2 ya-śri-Vishnu(ṇu)<sup>2</sup>varddhana-mā(ma)-
- 3 harājula<sup>3</sup> prava[rddhamā]-
- 4 na-vijaya-ra(ra)jya-sa[m]-
- 5 vatsara[m]bu=iru-
- 6 vadyadi<sup>4</sup>ēnagu-
- 7 nēṇṭhi(ṇṭi) Bahūdhavya<sup>5</sup>[m]h=a-
- 8 nēṇṭhi Ka(Ka)[r\*]ttika<sup>6</sup> ma(mā)sabu-
- 9 nā(na) su(śu)ddha-pakshabuna pa-
- 10 ṇchamiyum=Ādityavā-
- 11 ramba(bu)nāṇḍu Siddhesva(śva)ra-
- 12 mbuna Guṇḍabāḍi Kḷo-
- 13 mpala<sup>7</sup> Lokamayyayi(yu)

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1 From estampages and facsimiles

2 *Corpus* reads *Vishnu*

3 *Corpus* reads *rājulaku* Obviously, it takes the subscript *nu* in *Vishnu* of the previous line as *ku*

4 *Corpus* reads *l-āru-rājyādh*.

5 *Corpus* reads *Bahudhanya* Read *Bahudhānya*

6 *Corpus* reads *Kaṭṭika*

7 *Corpus* reads *Kṛompala*

- 14 Jettimayyayi<sup>1</sup>(yu) vi-  
 15 ðichinā(na) pasinḍi nū-  
 16 ru gadyaṇabulu [||\*] a-  
 17 p-pasinḍi<sup>2</sup> yichchi re

*Reverse*<sup>3</sup>

- 18 . . cha . .  
 19 . ruvōli .  
 20 . . . r . . . .  
 21 mi chaṇḍa [che]nu  
 22 paḍinaru [e\*]nimi-  
 23 di puṭlu ya(ya)dla-pa[ttu]  
 24 dīni Siddhisva(śva)ra[bu]-  
 25 naku viḍisi(chi)na [nē\*]la[||\*]  
 26 di(di)niki aḍ[ḍ\*]am=a-  
 27 yinavaru Śripa[r]vva[ta]-  
 28 bunu Terāmbula-  
 29 [n=a]lisinava(va)ru [||\*]  
 30 [Te]ramula Yacha .  
 31 koḍuku Maka li..[||\*]

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1 *Corpus* reads *Jettirayya*., obviously mistaking cursive *ma* for *ra*.

2 *Corpus* reads *brampesinḍi*.

3 Text on this side of the slab as published in *Corpus* contains many mistakes including confusion in identifying the lines correctly.

TĒRĀLA INSCRIPTION F SARVALŌKĀŚRAYA VISHNUVARDDHANA,  
YEAR 25—PLATE II



*K. V. Ramesh*

Scale : One-Fourth

*Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII*



## No. 27—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF BALAVARMMA

(2 Plates)

K. V. Ramesh and S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, Mysore

The three inscriptions edited here for the first time, were noticed in the year 1940-41 and 1941-42 and are referred to hereinafter as *A*, *B* and *C* for the sake of convenience. Inscription *A*<sup>1</sup> was found engraved on a pillar in a ruined mosque in the village Vāḍapalli, Miryalguda Taluk, Nalgonda District, Andhra Pradesh, while *B*<sup>2</sup> was found engraved on a slab paved on the platform round the *dhvaja-stambha* of the Kēśava temple in the village Korrapāḍu, Jammalamadugu Taluk, Cuddapah District. Inscription *C*<sup>3</sup> is engraved on a slab on the platform outside the Śiva temple in the same village. All the three inscriptions, though not verifiably dated, are palaeographically assignable to the 8th century A.D.

The primary interest in these records lies in the fact that they refer to the rule of a Balavarmma in the Nalgonda and Cuddapah region during the second half of the 8th century. Apart from these three records three more inscriptions referring to a Balavarmma of about the same period have so far been brought to light. Of these, one is a badly damaged Telugu inscription<sup>4</sup> from Korrapāḍu and refers to an attack on the forces of Balavarmma by a certain Kaliki. A copper-plate inscription,<sup>5</sup> the genuineness of which is doubtful and which allegedly belongs to the reign of Rāshtrakūṭa Prabhūtarsha Gōvinda III and is dated in 831 A.D., refers to a Balavarmma as the father of Yaśovarsha and grandfather of Vimalāditya, the governor of Kuṇigalḍēśa. The third inscription,<sup>6</sup> from Ballatgi, Manvi Taluk, Raichur District, Karnataka, which is badly damaged, but which palaeographically belongs to the second half of the 8th century, refers to a Balavarmma as *Chālukya-kulati[la\*]ka*. It is possible that the Balavarmma of the Vāḍapalli and Korrapāḍu inscriptions, being edited now, and his namesake figuring in the Rāshtrakūṭa copper-plate grant, the Ballatgi inscription as well as the damaged record from Korrapāḍu, mentioned above are one and the same. It is also possible that he was a Chālukya feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas and that he saw service as an administrator in different parts of the empire at different times.

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1 *AREp.*, 1941-42, No. E 46.

2 *Ibid.*, 1940-41, No. B 424. The text with plates and brief introduction is published in *Inss. of A.P. Cuddapah District*, Vol. I as No. 42. However, the text contains a few mistakes.

3 *AREp.*, 1940-41, No. B 421.

4 *Ibid.*, No. B 422. The language of the inscription is Telugu and not Kannada as mentioned with a question mark in the *Report*.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 11 ff.

6 *AREp.*, 1961-62, No. B 547. This epigraph is engraved on the side of the same slab, the front face of which bears an undated inscription of Rāshtrakūṭa Nityavarsha (No. B 546). In the said *Report* the name of Balavarmma has been wrongly read as Kalivarsha.



### A. Vāḍapalli Inscription

This inscription which is damaged and incomplete, is engraved in early Telugu-Kannaḍa characters assignable to the second half of the 8th century, the **language** being Telugu prose. As regards **palaeography** the following points are noteworthy. Of the initial vowels only *a* and *i* occur respectively in the words *annaku* (line 3) and *ichchi* (line 4). The letter *v* (line 1) is engraved in cursive form, the shape being almost round. It may be noticed that the upper line of the letter *j* (line 2) is not joined with the middle line but is slightly bent at the left end a little above the middle line. As regards **orthography** it may be observed that the consonant immediately following *rēpha* is doubled as in Balavarmma (line 1). In one instance the consonant following *anusvāra* is also doubled (-°*rāṅkuśumḍḍu*, line 4) while the same is not observed in the expression *rājyambu* (line 2). The use of a class nasal as well as *anusvāra* in the same expression is noticed in -°*rāṅkuśumḍḍu* (line 4).

The inscription is dated in the 1st regnal year (*prathama-rājyambu*, line 2) of Balavarmma and its **object** seems to be to record some grant (details lost) to (the god) Mukteśvara by [Pa]rāṅkuśumḍḍu, probably for the merit of his elder brother (*anna*). The ruler receives only the honorific *śrī*. No geographical names occur in the extant portion of this epigraph.

#### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti [||\*]śrī-Balavarmma . .
- 2 rala prathama-rājyambu . .
- 3 na annaku Muktiśa(śva)ra . .
- 4 . rāṅkuśumḍḍu ichchi
- 5 . . [lai]na
- 6 . ka . . . .

### B. Korrapāḍu Inscription

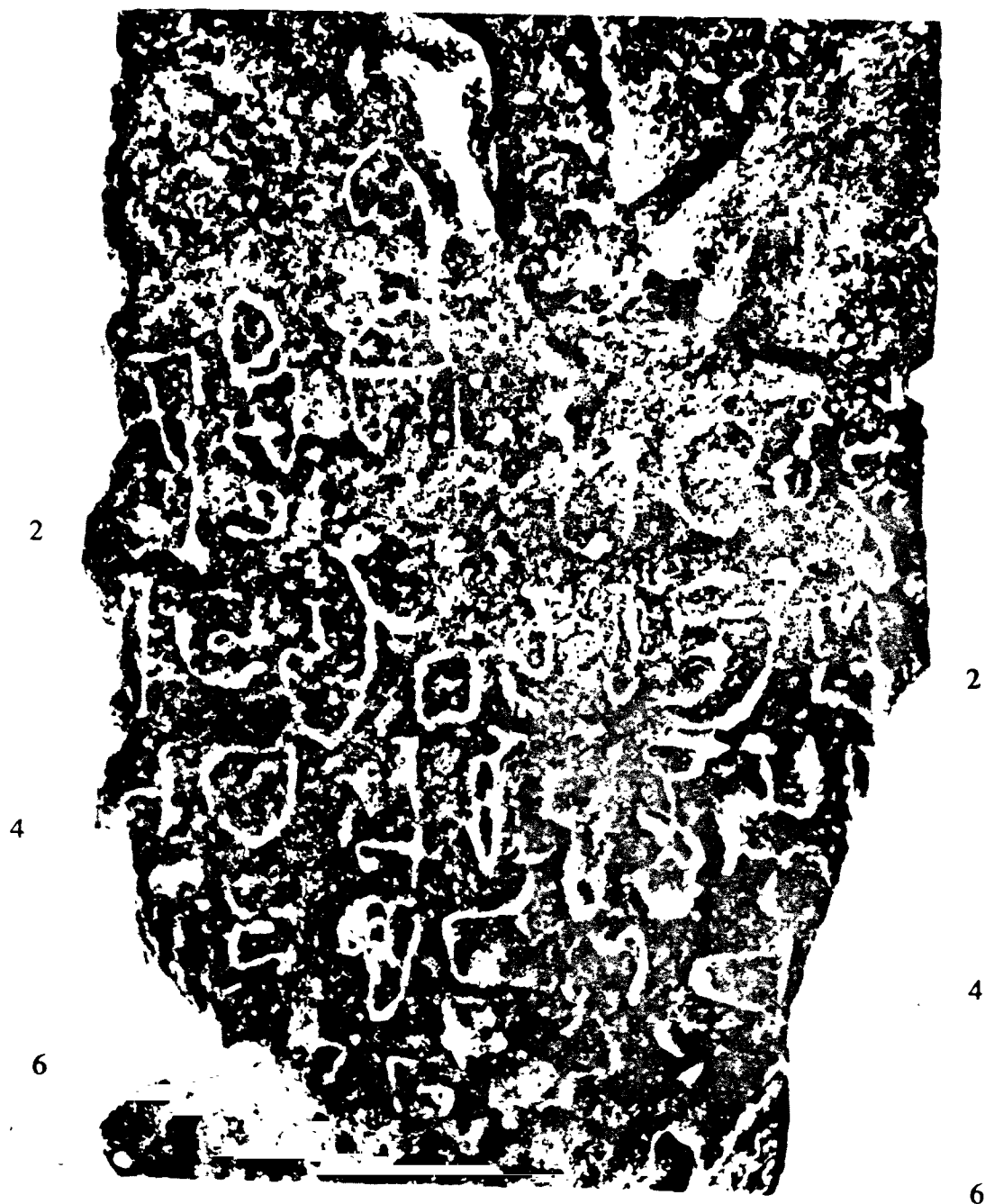
This inscription is also engraved in early Telugu-Kannaḍa characters of the second half of the 8th century and its **language** is Telugu prose, which is not free from mistakes.

As regards **palaeography**, this epigraph exhibits transitional features in the case of many letters as will be shown below. The initial vowel *a* and *i* occur in the expressions *ānalvaru* (line 11) and *ichina* (line 7) and *Inikkuṛēru* (line 10) respectively. The letter *k*, though still retaining the earlier feature of longish verticals clearly betrays in some cases a tendency towards shortness. There are two varieties of *ch-* in one form the letter has a dent in the bottom (*Chilku*, line 10), while the same is absent in the second (*chēnu*, line 4 and *Chilka*, line 5 and *ichina*, line 7). The letter *j* can be compared with its counterpart occurring in inscription A. In one instance the letter *m* is engraved in its cursive form (-°*varmma*, line 2). It is interesting to note that in one case the letter *r* is engraved in its early form where the right side vertical line does not join the left side line at the top (-*rājūla*, line 2). This may

1 From inked estampages

THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF BALAVARMMA — PLATE I

A-Vāḍapalli Inscription



*K. V. Ramesh*

Scale : One-Third

*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XLII



be compared with its counterparts occurring in lines 12, 13 and 16, where both the lines join at the top. **Palaeographically** another interesting letter occurring in this epigraph is *ṛ*. We have as many as four forms of this letter. The first form is commonly met with in the inscriptions of this period. This has two dents, one each on top and at the bottom joining which a vertical line is drawn. This line is cut by a horizontal line running in the middle from the left end to the right (lines 3, 10 and 11). The second is a tripartite form with a horizontal line engraved as in the above case. The vertical line, however, is drawn only in the lower half dividing it into two equal halves. This occurs only once in line 4 (*tuṛpū*) where it is a superscript. The third form is almost roundish and is divided into four equal compartments with a horizontal and vertical line. This also occurs only once (*-pārūnaku*, line 6). In the last variety the letter is divided into two equal halves by a horizontal line. It occurs as an independent letter in lines 14 and 18 and as a subscript in line 17 (*-bōyūṇṛū*). It is not known for certain if this modified symbol has been devised to denote some peculiar regional variation in the pronunciation of the Dravidian retroflex *ṛ*.

The letter *v* is engraved in almost a triangular form with a dent at bottom and with a line extending at the top to join the head-mark (line 8). This is a clear evidence of the process through which it developed into its present form.

This inscription is not free from **orthographical** errors which are duly corrected while editing the text. The consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled as usual (*-°varmma*, lines 2, 6).

This is not dated but can be assigned to the second half of the 8th century as has been stated above.

The main **object** of the epigraph is to record (line 1-7) the grant of a *pannaviśa* of land, situated to the east of Koraparū to the *brāhmaṇa* Chiḷka-pāra as a *datti* by Balavarmma, who receives the honorific *śrī*. Lines 8-12 record another grant of two villages viz., Krōvūḍu and Velval which were to be enjoyed (*takinavarū*) by four individuals, namely, Narakōḷu, Kalapuḷu, Chiḷkupāra (who is obviously identical with his namesake referred to above) and Inikkurēru. Though no other details such as the name of the donor are specified, it is obvious that the same Balavarmma referred to above would have granted these two villages also. This is followed (lines 13-16) by the usual imprecatory passage. The record ends with the statement that Prithivi-śarva-bōyūṇṛu was the writer.

Of the **geographical** names occurring in this epigraph Koraparū is obviously identical with the findspot of the inscription while Krōvūḍu and Velval are not identifiable on a modern map.

#### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti [||\*]śrī-
- 2 Balavarmmarājū(ju)-
- 3 la Koraparū(ru)ta

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1 From inked estampages.

- 4 turpūna<sup>1</sup> chēnu pa-
- 5 n{n}aviśa Chiḷkap{ā}-
- 6 rū(ru)naku Bala<sup>2</sup>va[r]mma-
- 7 la ichina<sup>3</sup> datti [ll]
- 8 Krōvūḍnū Veḷval[nū]
- 9 Narakōl[u] Kalapu[l]
- 10 Chiḷkupa(pā)ra Inī-
- 11 kkuṛēru ā nalva-
- 12 ru takine(na)varu [ll\*]
- 13 Va(Vā)raṇa(nā)śi(si) laḥchi
- 14 nava(vā)ru(ru) poṇru
- 15 dinikki<sup>4</sup> vakrapū(bu) va[ch]chu-
- 16 va(vā)rikki(ki) [ll\*] Prithivi-śa-
- 17 rva-bōyū(yu)nṛu(nṛu) vra(vrā)si-
- 18 naṛu<sup>5</sup> [ll\*]

### C. Korrapādu Inscription

As in the case of the inscription A and B this is also engraved in early Telugu-Kannada characters of the second half of the 8th century and the **language** is Telugu. The epigraph appears to be incomplete.

**Palaeographically** this record presents more developed forms compared to the other two inscriptions edited above. The writing is well executed, the letters being of uniform size and beautifully engraved. The initial vowels *i*, *ū* and *e* occur in lines 14, 8 and 5 respectively. The medial *u* occurring in the expression *Korrapāru* (line 4) is interesting in that its left vertical line is joined at the top with the right vertical line by a horizontal line thus making it appear like the letter *r* of the 8th century. This may be compared with the other signs of medial *ū* occurring in the words *-cheruvu* (line 3) and *Kokiyu* (line 6). However, in the case of the word *Naḍu-* (line 13) the left line of the medial *u* sign touches the bottom of the letter *d*. The letter *ch* occurs in two forms, one with a dent at both top and bottom (*cheruvu*, line 3) and the other with a dent only at the bottom (*poḍichi*, line 10). The right side line of the

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1 Read *tūrpuna*

2 The letter *la* is engraved above the line, between the letters *ba* and *va*.

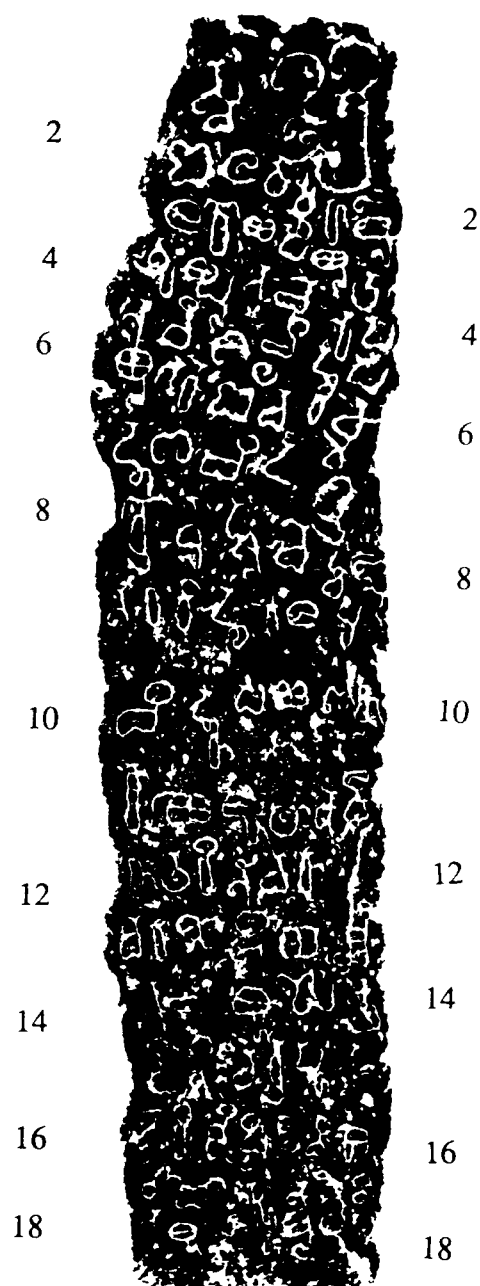
3 The letter *na* is engraved between the letters *chi* and *da* in small size

4 Read *diniki*

5 Read *-nāru*

# THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF BALAVARMMA—PLATE II

## B. Korrapāḍu Inscription



*K. V. Ramesh*

Scale : One-Eighth

*Ep Ind., Vol. XLII*



letter *b* is split in the middle and both of its ends take each an inward loop leaving a gap between each other (*Bala-*<sup>o</sup>, line 6). This letter may be compared with its counterparts occurring in the inscriptions *A* and *B* where the right side line is vertical with no split. The letter *v* occurring in this inscription (*cheruvu*, line 3) may be compared with its counterpart occurring in inscription *B*, line 8. The letter *r* both as independent and as subscript, is completely different from its counterparts occurring in the other two inscriptions edited above in that it looks like modern Telugu *r* (lines 4, 9 and 12). The letter *l* also is quite different from the letter *l* occurring in the inscriptions *A* and *B*. Here the right side of its line takes an upward curve which is a more developed form (line 6). On the whole this inscription offers more developed palaeographical features which, however, may be reasonably attributed to the individual style of the engraver and need not be taken to imply a much later date for this inscription to that of the other two inscriptions edited above.

This record is free from **orthographical** errors. The consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled as in *Balavarmma* (lines 6-7); the use of the verb *āruva* in the sense of 'having destroyed' is quite interesting.<sup>1</sup>

This is not dated, but may be assigned to the second half of the 8th century as suggested above.

The **object** of the inscription is not clear due to its incomplete nature. However, it is in the nature of hero-stone inscription as it records the death of the hero Kōki. It opens with the auspicious word *Svasti* followed by the statement that, while a certain Kōki was ruling over Saṅgrāmacheruvu<sup>2</sup> and Koṭṭapaṇu, the forces (*pāgu*)<sup>3</sup> of Balavarmma having marched against him and destroyed (*-āruva*) the village (*ūru*) (probably Koṭṭapaṇu since the inscription is set up there), he (*i.e.*, Kōki) fought and died (lines 2-11). A certain Sōma-pāra and the village Naḍupaṇu are referred to in lines 11-13. However, the context in which these two are mentioned is not clear.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in this record the village Koṭṭapaṇu is already identified while the other two viz., Saṅgrāmacheruvu and Naḍupaṇu are not found on the modern map.

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti [||\*]śrī [||\*]
- 2 Saṅgrāma-
- 3 cheruvu Ko-
- 4 ṭṭapaṇu

1 cf. the verb *āruchu* 'to destroy'—Visvanatha Satyanarayana, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

2 While noticing this inscription in the *report* it was wrongly stated that Saṅgrāmacheruvu was ruling over Koṭṭapaṇu, obviously taking the former to be a personal name.

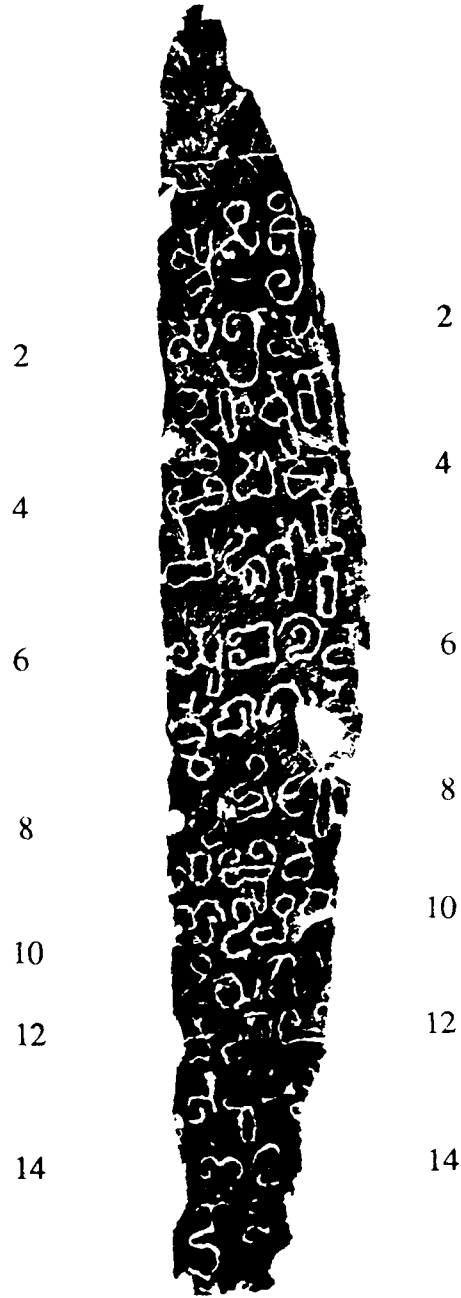
3 The said *Report* refers to the chief as Balavarmma-pāgu. The word *pāgu*, however, is an earlier form of *vāgu* which means 'army' cf. C.P. Brown, *A Telugu-English Dictionary* (1969), p. 1154; Above, Vol XXIV, p. 192, text line 10

4 From inked estampages.



- 5 elan-Koki-
- 6 yu Balava-
- 7 rmma pāgupa-
- 8 y=vachchi ūru-
- 9 n=āruva
- 10 poḍichi pa-
- 11 ḍiye [||\*] So
- 12 ma-para
- 13 Naḍupa[rru]
- 14 idi
- 15 dronu
- 16 . . .

C. Korrapādu Inscription





## No. 28—MÜDIGERE PLATES OF KADAMBA SIMHAVARMAN, YEAR 5

(2 Plates)

G.S. Gai, Mysore

This set of plates was discovered, along with another set of plates belonging to the Kadamba king Vishṇuvarman, about the middle of April, 1983, by one Kunji Hanumanna of Müdigere village in Tarikere Taluk of Chikkamagalur District, Karnataka State. He found them while ploughing his field for cultivation. The plates ultimately reached the hands of A. Sundara, former Director of Archaeology and Museums in Karnataka State and now Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, Karnataka University, Dharwad. Sundara has published this record, along with the other inscription, in the *Literary Supplement* to the *Kannada Prabha* daily newspaper dated 7th August, 1983.<sup>1</sup> But the text published by him is far from satisfactory. B.R. Gopal has subsequently edited these two records in his *Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions*, Vol. I (1985) as Nos. 36 and 38, of which the latter number refers to the present inscription, without illustrations. These texts also contain errors of omission and commission. While editing the grant of Simhavarman, Gopal observes that the characters of this record are not the usual box-headed type of the other Kadamba records and that the language is also faulty, thereby giving room to doubt the genuineness of this inscription. Since I do not agree with these observations of Gopal, I edit this copper-plate inscription in the pages of this journal from the excellent impressions kindly supplied to me by K. V. Ramesh, Director of Epigraphy, Mysore.

The set consists of four plates, each measuring 23 cm. in length and 4.5 cm. in breadth. In the middle of the left margin of each plate is a hole, through which passes a ring, about 4.5 cm. in diameter and the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of seal. This circular seal, about 4.2 cm. in diameter, does not seem to contain any emblem or writing. While only the inner sides of the first and the fourth plate are engraved, the second and third plates have writing on both sides. In all, there are 19 lines of writing. The inner side of the first plate and the reverse sides of the second and third plates contain the numerical figures 1, 2 and 3 respectively.

The **characters** of the record belong to the southern variety of the script which is found employed in the other records of the Kadamba dynasty and which may be assigned to the 5th-6th century A.D. The letters show clear serifs at the top with box-headed type in many cases. These box-headed types are more prominent in this inscription than in some other record like the Perbbaṭa grant<sup>2</sup> of Vishṇuvarman and the charter<sup>3</sup> of Mrigēśavarman. It may, however, be pointed out that the box-head types in the Kadamba records are not

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1 The details regarding the discovery and description of these plates are taken from this publication

2 *Mys Arch. Rep.*, 1925, p. 98

3 Above, Vol. XL, pp. 109 ff.

uniform and while some are squarish, some are rather rectangular while others are of diminutive type. In view of this, the observation of Gopal that the box-head types of the record under study are not of the regular box-headed types need not be considered as a defect.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and, except an invocatory verse at the beginning and two imprecatory verses at the end, the inscription is in prose. In respect of **orthography**, the consonant following *r* is reduplicated. The language is practically free from errors, except in a couple of cases only. Hence, Gopal's remark that the language of this inscription is faulty giving room to doubt its genuineness is not justified. Unfortunately, Gopal's reading of the text-portion, mostly following that of Sundara, is faulty in many cases which has apparently led him to doubt the genuineness of the record. But, as pointed out above, there is absolutely no reason to doubt its genuineness on grounds of palaeography and language.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Kadamba king Simhavarman who is described as the grandson of Kṛṣṇavarman I, the performer of the horse-sacrifice (*aśvamēdhayajña-yaśōmaya-pratikṛitēh*), and as the son of Viṣṇuvarman who is called a *Sārvabhauma*. The record is dated in the fifth regnal ear of the king and the tenth day of the month of Pausa. And the **object** of the record is to register the gift, made by the king Simhavarman, of five *nivartanas* of land below the lake called Āsandi in Āsandyālūra situated in Sindaka-vishaya i.e., Sēndraka-vishaya. This gift was made for the purpose of conducting worship in the Jaina temple (*Arhamtām=āyatana*), apparently at the place Āsandyālūra.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only record of the Kadamba king Simhavarman discovered so far. Till now, he was known only from the records of his son and successor Kṛṣṇavarman II<sup>1</sup> and some scholars even doubted whether Simhavarman ascended the Kadamba throne at all. But the discovery of the present inscription shows that he not only ascended the throne but also ruled the kingdom for some years. He may be assigned to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. according to the chronological scheme of the rulers of the Kadamba dynasty.<sup>2</sup>

In line 7 of the text, Simhavarman has been described as belonging to, on his mother's side, a family the name of which reads as Rāmēya. His mother's name is mentioned as Gangā who was like the universal river Gangā, the mythological daughter born of Himavat mountain (cf. *Rāmēyavarṇśa-Himavat-prasūta-jagan-mātri-Gangā-garbbha-hrad-ādhi-śayana-dig-Gajēndrah*). The name Rāmēya, in our opinion, is a mistake for *Kaikēya*, since we know that these Kadamba kings had cultivated matrimonial alliance with the rulers of the Kaikeya family who seem to have ruled as subordinate chiefs of the Kadambas in some parts of their territory. The Prāṇavēśvara temple inscription<sup>3</sup> at Tālagunda in Shimoga District mentions the queen Prabhāvatī as the wife of the Kadamba king Mṛigēśavarman and mother

1 See his Bannahalli plates, above, Vol. XVI, pp. 18 ff; Śivali plates, *C.P. Ins. from Karnataka* (ed. by M.S. Nagaraja Rao and K.V. Ramesh), pp. 6-7.

2 We have discussed in detail the chronology of the Kadamba dynasty in our forthcoming volume on the *Early Kadamba Inscriptions*, to be published by the Indian Council of Historical Research.

3 *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1911, p. 33.

of Ravivarman and as born in the Kaikēya family (*Kaikēya-mahā-kula-prasūtā*). According to the Bannahalli plates<sup>1</sup> of Kṛṣṇavarman II, his grandfather Viṣṇuvarman is described as the son of the daughter of the Kaikēya family (cf. *Kaikēya-sutāyām=utpannēna Viṣṇuvarmma-dharmma-mahārājēna*). And the second set<sup>2</sup> of Mūdigere plates of Viṣṇuvarman himself describes him as born of the daughter of a Kaikēya ruler (cf. *Kaikēya-rāja-bālikā-garbbha-sambhūtaḥ*).<sup>3</sup> Thus, it is quite likely that Gaṅgā, the mother of Sīmhavarman of our record, also belonged to this Kaikēya family and that the expression *Rāmeya* is only a mistake for the word *Kaikēya*, a mistake committed by the writer or engraver of the record.

In line 13 of the record under study, it is stated that the king Sīmhavarman was anointed by one whose name actually reads in the text as *Mosava* and who was again coronated on the throne by a ruler named *Sarvasena-maharaja*. The expression *Mosava* is again a mistake for the word *Vāsava* i.e., the god Viṣṇu, since we know that the kings are described as being first anointed by the gods in the inscriptions. Thus, according to the Tālagunda inscription<sup>3</sup> of Śāntivarman, his ancestor, King Mayuravarman is described as being anointed by the god Śaḍānana i.e., Kārtikēya (cf. *Shaḍānanaḥ yam=abhishiktavān*).<sup>4</sup> Gopal, however, reads the word *Mōsava* as *Maisada* and doubtfully corrects it to *Maisava* which is interpreted by him as the family name of some chiefs. It is unlikely that such a small and insignificant family of chiefs will enjoy the prerogative of anointing an imperial king like Sīmhavarman and hence this view is unacceptable. That God Vāsava or Viṣṇu anointed him stands to reason and hence, the correction of the word *Mōsava* as *Vāsava* suggested above is justified.

As regards the identity of Sarvasēna-mahārāja, at whose hands Sīmhavarman was coronated, Sundara has suggested that he may be identified with the Vakāṭaka king of that name i.e., Sarvasēna I who founded the Vatsagulma branch of that dynasty. But this Sarvasēna I is placed by scholars<sup>5</sup> in about the second quarter of the 3rd century A.D., whereas the Kadamba king Sīmhavarman belonged to the last quarter of the 5th century A.D., thus leaving a gap of over 200 years. Hence, Gopal observed that there would be chronological difficulties, in respect of this identification but he did not suggest any alternative.

Ajay Mitra Shastri has written a detailed paper on this subject entitled “Mūdigere plates of Sīmhavarman and Vākāṭaka-Kadamba Relations”.<sup>6</sup> In this paper Shastri has suggested the identification of Sarvasēna of the present record with Sarvasēna II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty whose existence is confirmed by the discovery of Thalner plates<sup>7</sup> of the Vākāṭaka king Harishēna and, as a consequence, containing the name of the father of

1 Above, Vol. VIII, p. 18.

2 *Corp. Kad. Ins.*, No. 36, p. 133, text-line 3.

3 Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, verse 22.

5 *CII.*, Vol. V, p. XXIX.

6 *Indian Archeological Heritage* (K. V. Soundarajan Felicitation Volume), pp. 317-19.

7 Mirashi, *Indological Research Papers*, Vol I (1982), pp. 78-87; Ajay Mitra Shastri, *JESI*, Vol XI (1984), pp. 15 ff.

Vakāṭaka Dēvasēna in the Ajanta cave inscription<sup>1</sup> of Harishēṇa's minister Varahadēva. Shastri supports his identification by arguing that the -*sēna* ending names were borne during this early period of 5th-6th century A.D. *only*<sup>2</sup> by the rulers of the Vakāṭaka dynasty and hence, it may be reasonably concluded that Sarvasēna of Mūḍigere plates must have been a monarch of this dynasty. Sarvasēna II is assigned to the period *circa* 410-50 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> while the Kadamba king Simhavarman has been referred to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. To reconcile this difference, Shastri suggests that the Kadamba chronology may be ante-dated by a few decades to suit his identification and thereby to establish Kadamba-Vakāṭaka relationship. I am sorry that it is not possible to agree with Ajay Mitra Shastri in identifying Sarvasēna of our record with his namesake Sarvasēna II of the Vakāṭaka dynasty. There is no evidence to establish the Kadamba-Vakāṭaka relationship during this period. In the Balaghat plates<sup>4</sup> of the Vakāṭaka king Prithvishēna II, it is stated that his mother Ajjhitabhāṭṭarikā, wife of Narendrasēna, was the daughter of the lord of Kuntala. Mirashi has shown that this lord of Kuntala belonged to the family of the early Rashtrakūṭas of Mānapura in the modern Satārā region of Maharashtra.<sup>5</sup> So this mention of the lord of Kuntala does not refer to the Kadamba king Kakusthavarman as once thought of by Dubreuil<sup>6</sup> and D.C. Sircar.<sup>7</sup> And there is no other evidence to establish the relationship between the early Kadamba kings and their contemporary Vakāṭaka rulers. On the other hand, as pointed out above, the Kadamba kings had entered into matrimonial relationship with the rulers of the Kaikēya family. According to the Honnavar plates<sup>8</sup> of the time of the Kadamba king Ravivarman, his subordinate ruler Chitrasēna-Mahākella of the Kaikēya family issues the grant in his own regnal year, thereby showing that he enjoyed the status of a subordinate ally, possibly because of his relationship with the Kadamba king. For ought we know, king Ravivarman's mother Prabhāvatī may have belonged to the Kaikeya family and hence Chitrasena seems to have been his maternal uncle or so. It is important to note that the name of this Kaikeya ruler ends in -*sena*, thereby disproving Shastri's statement that *only* the rulers of the Vakāṭaka dynasty had -*sena* ending names during this early period. With our corrected reading of the text as Kaikeya instead of Rameya, Simhavarman may be taken to have been the son of Gaṅga who belonged to this Kaikēya family. And, in all probability, Sarvasēna of the record also belonged to the same family and was possibly the brother of Gaṅga and maternal uncle of Simhavarman. Perhaps, as maternal uncle and as an elderly member of the Kaikeya family, he took part in the coronation ceremony by anointing Simhavarman on the throne. In view of this, the identification of Sarvasēna of our inscription with his name-sake Sarvasēna II of the Vakāṭaka dynasty, leading to the establishment of the Kadamba-Vakāṭaka relationship, as propounded by Ajay Mitra Shastri, becomes untenable and hence unacceptable.

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1 *CII*, Vol V, p 108, verse 10

2 *Italics ours*

3 *CII*, Vol V, pp VI-VII and XXX

4 *Ibid*, No 18, pp 79 ff

5 *Ibid*, p XXV

6 *Anc Hist Dec*, p 100

7 *Hist Cult Ind Pco*, Vol III (*Classical Age*), p 200

8 *Above*, Vol XXXVII, p 33

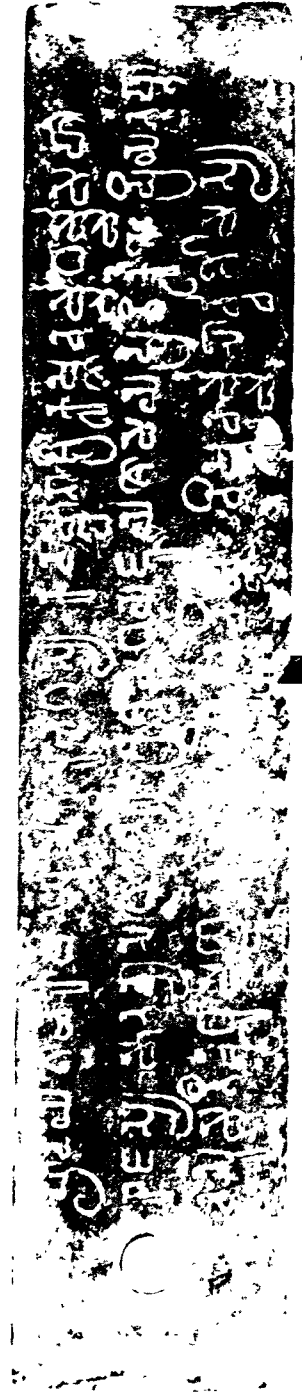
MÜDIGERE PLATES OF KADAMBA SIMHAVARMAN, YEAR 5  
PLATE I

i



2

ii a



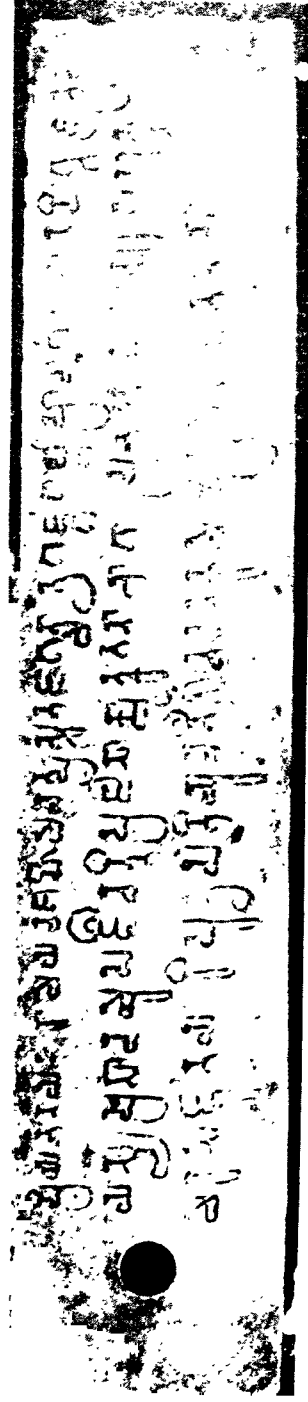
4

6



MUDIGERE PLATES OF KADAMBA SIMHAVARMAN, YEAR 5  
PLATE II

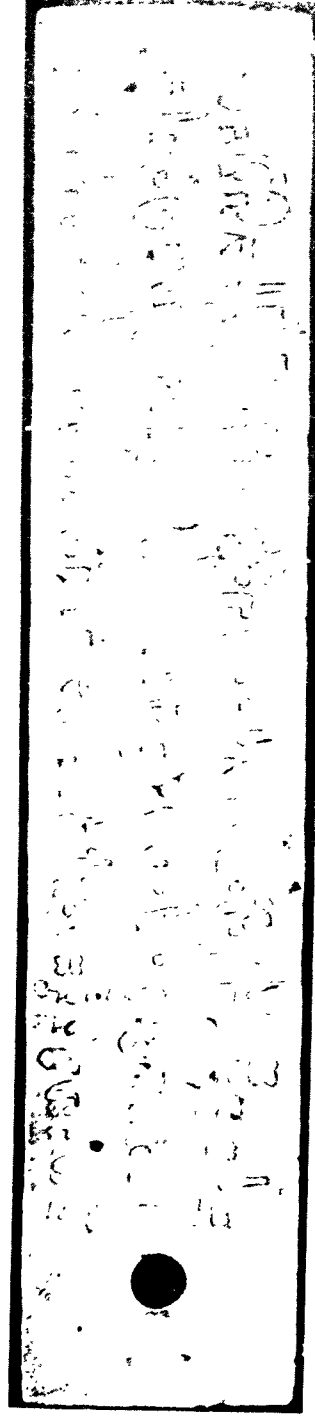
ii b



8

8

iii a



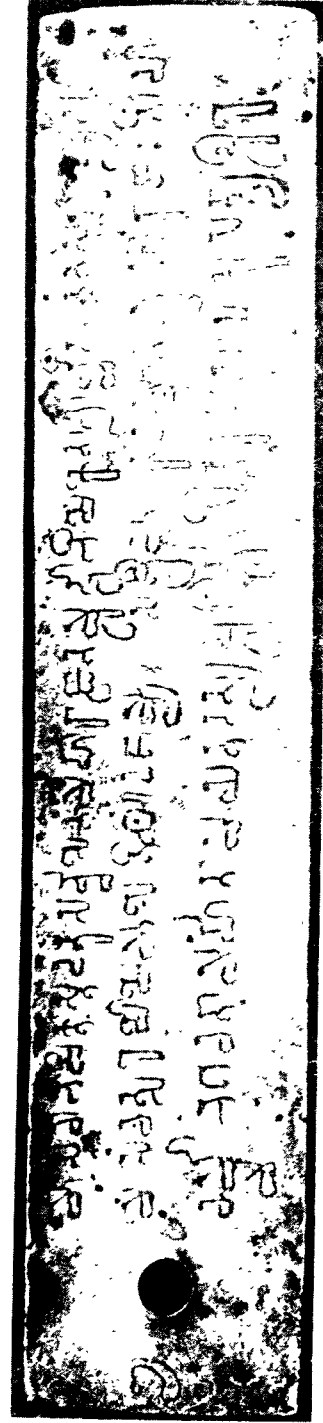
10

10

12

12

iii b



14

14

As regards the **geographical** names finding mention in the record, the lake called Āsandi and the village Āsandyālūra are to be located near the present village Müdigere, the findspot of the plates. Sēndraka-vishaya represented the area round about modern Shimoga District and parts of Chikkamagalur District.

### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[ Metres : Verse 1: Ārya ; verses 2 and 3 : *Anuṣṭubh* ]

#### *First Plate*

- 1 Ōm<sup>2</sup> Svasti || vibav-āmala-jala-śītala-ni[ya]<sup>3</sup> ta chchhāyā-pramōda-bhāga-vibhāgi [I \*]
- 2 Jayati jay-aika-sthānan=tribhuvana-sakal-ātapatram=iha sad=dharmmaḥ || [1||\*]
- 3 , Ōm vijaya-Bē(Vai)jayanti-vanitāyāḥ s=āshṭa-daśaka-rājya-vibhakt-āṅgāyāḥ<sup>4</sup>

#### *Second Plate : First Side*

- 4 hṛidaya-gōchar-ōchita-svāmitva<sup>5</sup>-subhagasya Kadambānām śri-Kṛishṇavarmma-dharmma-mahā-
- 5 rājasya Mānavya-sagotrāsya Aśvamēdha-yajña-yaśomaya-pratikṛiteḥ<sup>6</sup> priya-naptā
- 6 vasumatī-vadhū-maṇḍana-kutūhal-ōdbhūta-<sup>7</sup> Vishṇōḥ Vishṇuvarmma-Sārva-bhaumasya

#### *Second Plate : Second Side*

- 7 priya-tanayaḥ Rameya-varṇśa-himavat-prasūta-jagan-mātṛi-Gaṅgā<sup>8</sup>-garbbha-hrad-ādhiśayana-di-Gajendraḥ
- 8 yasya prasādam=upajīvanti prajā sākshāt-kṛita- Nābhāgā-pratāpō=pi yasya parākra-

1 From the impressions and photographs supplied by the Director of Epigraphy My thanks are due to Pandit V. S. Subrahmanyam for his help in the preparation of this text

2 Expressed by a symbol carved in the left margin of the plate.

3 Gopal reads *ni [śām ?]*

4 Gopal reads *vibharāṅga[rtthi ?] yāya*

5 Gopal reads *svāminva (nāh va)*

6 Gopal reads *pratikṛtāḥ*.

7 Gopal reads *kutūhali.-ta*.

8 Gopal reads *garnga(ṅga)*.

- 9 ma-rasajñatayā ripu-nripati-yuvatinam vadana-kamala-prasada-sātatyahārī

*Third Plate : First Side*

- 10 tyāg-odayō-ārtthi-jan[ē]chchha-kumuda-shaṇḍa-maṇḍana-piṇḍa<sup>1</sup>-chandr-odayah  
anēka-śāstr-artha-mīmāṃ-
- 11 sāvadāt-āma[la-ma\*]tir=Aditi<sup>2</sup>-suta-gabhasti-vistāra-samāhāra-jar-ita-tapaniyāchala-  
śikhara-mē
- 12 chaka-vilambini<sup>3</sup>-mūrtti-chchhāyā yam=anvarttatē parijjanyah yaś=cha dharmm-  
arttha-kāma-praty-ādēśah

*Third Plate : Second Side*

- 13 Mo(Vā)sav-a<sup>4</sup>bhishiktas=tad=anu Sarvvasēna-Mahārājēna mūrddhabhisheken  
=abhyarchchitah tatas=sva-rājya-pañcha-
- 14 me samvatsarē Paushe masē tithau daśamyām sa-śrīmān Kadambānam=maharājah  
Simha-
- 15 varmmā bhagavatām=Arhamtām-āyatanasya puḥ-arttham Sindaka<sup>5</sup>-vishaye  
Asandyalūre

*Fourth Plate*

- 16 Asandi-taṭakasya dakṣhiṇa-pālyah adhastat rāja-mānēna pañcha-nivarttana-mātram  
kshetran=dattavān
- 17 sarvva-pariharyam-iti || uktañ=cha Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rajabhis=Sagar-  
adibhiḥ[1\*] yasya
- 18 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tada phalam || [2 || \*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām vva(vā)  
yo hareta vasu-
- 19 ndharam [1\*] shasṭi-varsha-sahasrani narakē pachyatē tu sa[h l. 3 || \*] iti ||

1 Gopal reads *manda-sapinda*

2 Gopal reads *mīmāṃsādātā(ta ?)-matidartti* which does not yield any meaning.

3 Gopal reads *śikharam-cv a kaviḥ lambini*

4 Gopal reads *maṣadsa (maṣavā ?)*

5 Gopal reads *Sendraka*

iv

16

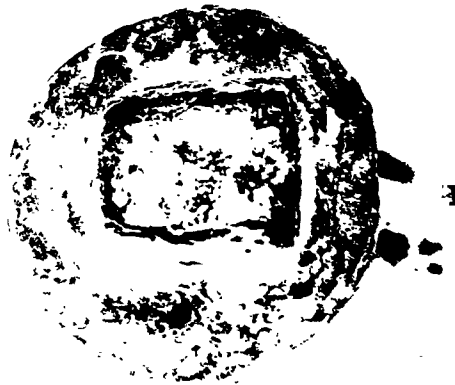
18



16

18

SEAL



*K V Ramesh*

*Ep Ind, Vol XLII*



## INDEX

By S. SWAMINATHAN, M.A., Ph.D.

The figures refer to pages, 'n' after a figure to foot-notes, and 'add' to additions and corrections. The following abbreviations are also used ; au. = author; ca. = capital; ch. = chief; chron. = chronicle; ci. = city; co. = country; com. = composer; de. deity; di. = division; do. = ditto; dt. = District; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; engr. = engraver; ep. epithet; f. = family; fe. = female; feu. = feudatory; gen. = general; gr. = grant, grants; hist. = historical; ins. = inscription, inscriptions. k. = king; lo. = locality; l.m. = linear measure, land measure; m. = male; min. = minister; mo. = mountain; myth. = mythological; n. = name; N. = Northern; off. = office; peo. = people; pl. = plate, plates; pr. = prince, princes; prov. = province; q. = queen; reg. = region; rel. = religion, religions; ri. = river; S. = Southern; s.a. = same as; sur. = surname; te. = temple; Tel. = Telugu; t.d. = territorial division; tit. = title; tk. = taluk; tn. town; vi. = village; W. = Western; wk. = work; wt. = weight.

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